

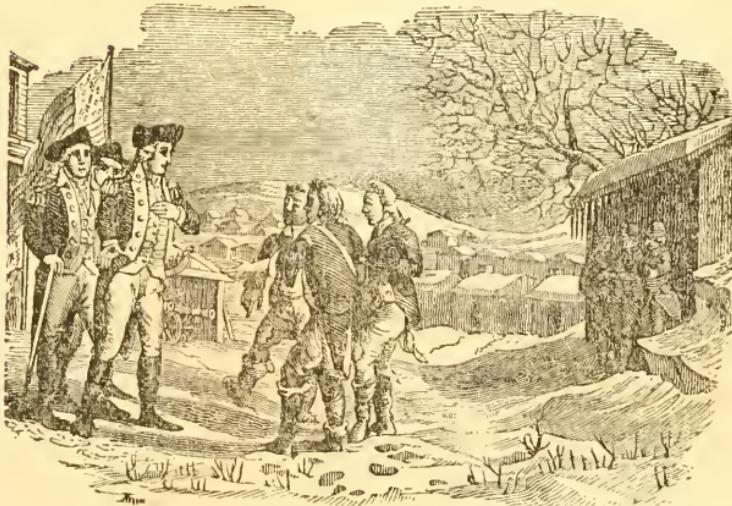


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HISTORY
OF THE
AMERICAN WARS:
COMPRISING THE
WAR OF THE REVOLUTION
AND THE
WAR OF 1812.
BEING A COMPLETE
HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES,
FROM THE YEAR 1775 TO 1815.
WITH A HISTORICAL INTRODUCTION.

BY R. THOMAS, A. M.



Sufferings of the Army at Valley Forge.

ILLUSTRATED WITH EIGHTY-ONE ENGRAVINGS.

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P R E F A C E.

THE history of the two great wars, which the American states maintained against Great Britain, constitutes the most interesting portion of our national annals, and it has been looked upon as a serious deficiency in our libraries that they possess no properly executed work embracing that important period distinguished by these events. Separate histories of both the wars have been written by many hands, but the want has been felt of a continuous history, commencing with the outbreak of the revolutionary hostilities, and brought down to the termination of the war of 1812, when the United States of America, having emerged with success from a second grand struggle with the greatest naval power of Europe, took a prominent rank among the nations of the earth, and convinced the people of the old world, by evidences not to be mistaken, that a powerful empire was rising in the west, under the auspices of the free institutions of America.

In attempting to supply this deficiency, the author of the following work has, of course, been compelled to go over ground which has been traversed by many a preceding writer. Yet he has not confined himself to a bare repetition of the facts which the pages of those writers already present. He has sought for new facts, new illustrations, and

new attractions for the reader. He has endeavored to combine a proper degree of entertainment with the solid usefulness of an accurate historical work. Anecdotes and minute details have been introduced occasionally, not only to give variety and picturesqueness to the narrative, but as serving the main purpose of historical writing, by affording occasional glimpses into the genuine spirit and temper of the times, and placing the scenes and personages before the reader's eye with a dramatic vividness, which is doubly sure to arouse the attention and dwell long upon the memory.

The author trusts that he has done adequate justice to the patriotism, courage, and virtues of our revolutionary sires, and the heroic combatants by land and sea, who so nobly vindicated their country's honor, and covered with glory the star-spangled banner during the late war with the "mistress of the ocean." It has been his object to set forth the achievements of the American arms with the full meed of praise to which our brave soldiers and sailors are entitled, and on all occasions to excite a proper national feeling. At the same time he has studied to observe a strict and honest impartiality in the narrative, and to do justice to the motives of all parties.

The reader, it is believed, will find this volume a more full, accurate and satisfactory compendium of the history of the United States, during the period embraced in it, than any publication, in a popular shape, that has yet appeared. In the style and illustrations, the author has studied clearness and perspicuity, and in the occasional remarks and moral reflections, he has introduced such sentiments as, it is hoped, will have a tendency to strengthen our esteem for the wise and good men of our country, and augment the attachment of every American to the free institutions under which we live.

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CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTORY SKETCH.

THE following work will be found to contain a complete history of the American Republic, from that period when the North American states, inspired by a unity of principle, and aiming at a common purpose, combined their sympathies, their aspirations, and their endeavors in a grand national effort, which cemented still more strongly the original ties of kindred blood and common parentage, and led to the great federal union of the present day. The sources of American history are clear and distinct. The people of this country are not compelled to search for their origin, like most other nations, in the obscurity of barbarous ages and the regions of fiction. Their genealogy is too short and too well ascertained to admit of the embellishments and exaggerations of a poetical fancy. At a period comparatively recent, their ancestors, consisting of a few families, were detached from the great mass of the European population, and left to their own resources in a vast wilderness, where they were surrounded by enemies and forced to struggle against every disadvantage. In the short space of two centuries, while some of the older states of Europe have scarcely made any perceptible advances, these few families increased to a great nation, and took their place among the most powerful and enlightened states in the world. The sources of national wealth, and the productive powers of man, which are obscurely traced in the slow progress of old and populous communities, are developed here on a gigantic scale. It is a fortunate thing for the philosophic student, that the history of a people whose career has been so singular and instructive, is remarkably

full and complete. All the leading events and circumstances which have influenced the fortunes or character of the people of this country, from the first settlement of a few forlorn emigrants, down to the present day, are within the reach of investigation; and the steps of that unexampled progress, by which a handful of men have expanded to a mighty nation, can be accurately and satisfactorily traced.

North America was discovered by John Cabot, in 1498. He then held a commission from Henry the seventh, of England, to make discoveries and take possession of new territories in the name and in behalf of the king of England. Acting upon the principles then current in Europe, that all countries inhabited by heathens became the property of any Christian power that first discovered them, the British sovereign maintained his claim to the northern part of the new world. Though Queen Elizabeth and James I. denied the authority of the pope to give away the country of the infidels, yet they so far adopted the fanciful distinction between the rights of heathens and the rights of Christians, as to make it the foundation of the respective grants by which they conveyed the several portions of the territory of North America to their own subjects. They freely gave away what did not belong to them, with no other proviso than that "the territories and districts so granted, be not previously occupied and possessed by the subjects of any other Christian prince or state." The first English patent which was given for the purpose of colonizing the country discovered by Cabot, was granted, by Elizabeth, to Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1584, she licensed Sir Walter Raleigh to "search for heathen lands not inhabited by Christian people," and granted to him all the soil "within two hundred leagues of the places where his people should make their dwellings and abidings." Under his auspices a small colony took possession of a part of the American coast, which now forms North Carolina; but no permanent settlement was effected till the reign of James the first.

Virginia is the most ancient of the British American colonies; but the New England settlements were those which exercised the most powerful influence in the western world.

It was a most favorable circumstance for the United States that the country was colonized chiefly by men of the Saxon race. What would have been its situation had it been peopled by any of the southern nations of Europe, is well apparent from the present state of the Spanish American communities. The English, who formed the leading part of the colonists, had been, to a great degree, emancipated from superstition and priesthood by the Reformation. They had imbibed more liberal ideas in politics than any other nation of the world, and had made greater progress in industry and the useful arts. The first settlers, no doubt, considered their removal to the western continent as a painful sacrifice, but, after they had acquired strength to maintain themselves against the Indians, the advantages of their situation began to appear. An immense territory was spread out before a small number of men, who possessed the skill and industry of a mature society. The colonists left Europe when the effects of industry, the true source of national strength, had begun to develop themselves; when civil liberty began to be understood and valued; when religion was stripped of many of its corruptions; when knowledge was advancing, and society was settling on its proper basis.

What was the extent of the obligations by which the colonies were bound to the mother country, is a subject of nice discussion; whether they arose from nature and the British constitution, or from compact, is a question necessarily connected with many others. While some contended that the king of England had a property in the soil of America, by virtue of a right derived from prior discovery, and that his subjects, by migrating from one part of his dominions to another, did not lessen their obligation to obey the supreme power of the nation, it was inferred that the emigrants to the English colonies continued to owe the same obedience to the king and parliament as if they had never quitted the land of their nativity. But if, as others maintained, the Indians were the only lawful proprietors of the country in which their Creator had placed them, and they sold their claims to men who, as emigrants, had a

right to leave their native country, and, as subjects, had obtained chartered permission to do so, it would follow, from these premises, that the obligations of the colonists to the parent state must have resulted more from compact and the prospect of reciprocal advantage, than from natural obligation. This opinion was held by the people of New England, who were the first among the colonists to perceive the encroachments of the royal power, and the foremost in resisting it.

Although Virginia claimed the appellation of the "Old Dominion," in consequence of having received the first English colony in America, yet the settlers there were so deficient in enterprise, ingenuity, hardihood and perseverance, that their establishments remained for a long time in a state of insignificance, and they scarcely deserved the appellation of a regular colony till many years after the settlement in New England. The true history of the United States began here. New England is the quarter from which has proceeded the greatness of the western republic. Plymouth rock is the foundation of American freedom. Religious persecution compelled the English puritans to seek an asylum in the western world. They landed on the shores of Massachusetts in December, 1620. The country was an inhospitable wilderness, and the severities of a North American winter made this wilderness more dreary and appalling. They were at first received by the savage inhabitants with a degree of simple humanity. They smoked with them the pipe of peace, purchased a tract of the uncultivated waste, erected huts on the frozen shore, and established a community on the broadest principles of political liberty. They entered into a voluntary compact with each other, to form a regular society, and drew up a covenant by which they bound themselves to submit to order and subordination. Their jurisprudence was marked with wisdom and dignity, and their simplicity and piety were displayed in the regulation of their police, the nature of their contracts, and the punctuality with which they observed them. They chose their own magistrates, independent of any foreign control. A perfect democracy was

founded on the shores of Massachusetts Bay; and this obscure transaction, on which the world did not bestow even a passing notice at the time, now stands chronicled in history as the most important event of the seventeenth century.

From the local situation of the Massachusetts settlers, who were separated by a broad ocean from their kindred of the parent state, and surrounded by a world of savages, a compact with the king of England was thought necessary. A charter was easily obtained, which stipulated, on the part of the crown, that Massachusetts should have a legislative body within itself, subject to no control, except the king's negative within certain limits, to any laws which might be thought prejudicial to the realm of England. Modes of government, nearly similar to that of Massachusetts, were established in most of the other colonies. But the corrupt principles which prevailed in the courts of the Stuart dynasty, quickly followed the emigrants into their distant retreats and disturbed them in the enjoyment of their free institutions. It soon became evident that there was a strong party in England who wished to govern the colonists with a rigorous hand. They discovered their inclinations by repeated attempts to alter and annul the American charters on the most frivolous pretences.

The colonists, and, above all, the New Englanders, looked upon their charters as a voluntary compact between their sovereign and themselves, by which they were bound neither to be subject to, nor to seek protection from, any other prince, nor to make any laws repugnant to those of England. They did not consider the charters as binding them to yield any obedience to a parliament in which they were unrepresented. The prospects of advantage which the emigrants to America expected from the protection of their native sovereign, and the prospect of aggrandizement which the sovereign expected from the extension of his empire, made the one as willing to grant, as the other to receive, the charters; but neither party reasoned clearly on their nature, nor understood their extent and significance, nor distinctly foresaw their tendencies. For a while the

charters opposed a barrier to all open and gross encroachments of the mother country on the rights of the colonists. Long before the declaration of independence, several of the colonies, on different occasions, had declared that they ought not to be taxed, but by their own provincial assemblies, and that they considered subjection to acts of a British parliament, in which they had no representation, as a grievance.

It is particularly worthy of remark, as illustrating the question of the original political rights of the Americans, that, of the whole thirteen colonies which took up arms against the encroachments of the crown, not one was settled at the expense of the government, excepting Georgia, the most recently established and least important of the number. Towards the settlement of that southern frontier, considerable sums had at different times been granted by parliament, but the twelve other provinces had been wholly settled by private adventurers, without any advances from the national treasury. It does not appear, from existing records, that any compensation for their lands was ever made to the aborigines of America, by the crown or parliament of England; but policy as well as justice led the colonists to purchase and pay for what they occupied.

Another point, important to be kept in mind, is that the first American settlers left England at a period when the dread of arbitrary power was the predominant feeling of the nation. Except in the case of Georgia, all the colonies obtained their charters between the years 1603 and 1688. During this period a remarkable struggle between prerogative and privilege commenced, and was carried on till it terminated in a revolution in England, which was highly favorable to popular liberty. The religion of the colonists also nurtured a love for liberty. They were chiefly protestants, and all protestantism is founded on a strong claim to natural freedom, and the right of private judgment. A majority of them were of that class of men, called, in England, dissenters; their tenets, embracing the most rigid portion of the protestant religion, are hostile to all interference of authority in matters of opinion, and predispose

those who cherish them to an inclination for civil liberty.

The inhabitants of the colonies, from the beginning, especially in New England, enjoyed a government very little short of independence. They had not only the image, but the substance, of the English constitution. They chose most of their magistrates, and paid them all. They had in effect the sole direction of their internal government. The chief mark of their subordination consisted in their making no laws repugnant to the laws of the mother country; in submitting their laws to the approbation of the king, and obeying such restrictions as were laid on their trade by parliament. These restrictions were to a great extent evaded with impunity. The other small checks were scarcely felt, and, for a long time, were in no respects injurious to their interests. Under these favorable circumstances the colonies had advanced nearly to the magnitude of a nation, while the greater part of Europe was almost wholly ignorant of their progress. Some arbitrary proceedings of the governors appointed by the crown, some proprietary partialities or democratical jealousies, now and then interrupted their political calm, but the circumstances of the country afforded but little scope for the intrigues of politicians or the turbulence of demagogues. All this time they were rising higher, and, though not aware of the fact, growing fast to a greater degree of political consequence.

From small and hardly perceptible beginnings, the collision between the royal authority and the rights of the colonists grew to such an extent as to attract serious notice. It was evident that the mother country was inclined to make a more liberal use of her prerogative than the colonists judged to be consistent with their natural and constitutional rights. The legislature of Massachusetts maintained the most persevering opposition against the royal governors, on the question of their right to fix his salary. The restrictions upon the trade and manufactures of the colonies increased, and soon began to be felt a grievance. In 1750, special acts of parliament forbade the erection of any iron works in the colonies; obstructions

were also thrown in the way of other branches of industry; the commerce between one colony and another was fettered by the most absurd and vexatious prohibitions. These measures were of the most offensive character, and seemed designed to crush the native talent of the Americans and keep them in a constant state of inferiority.

One of the first occurrences, which, as an evidence of their increasing importance, drew on the colonies a large share of attention in Europe, was the capture of Louisburg, in 1745, from France, during the war between that country and Great Britain. This enterprise was projected by Governor Shirley, of Massachusetts, and undertaken by the sole authority of the legislature of that state. The reduction of this important fortress, the Gibraltar of America, as it was then considered, gave both the French and English enlarged ideas of the value and strength of the American colonies. Both nations now became eager to extend their boundaries in this quarter, and the peace which ensued was of short duration. On the renewal of hostilities, a design was projected by the British government to draw forth the resources of the colonies in a uniform system of operation against the French. A general meeting of the governors and chief members of the provincial legislatures, was held at Albany, in 1754. The British commissioners at this congress were of opinion that a union of the colonies was necessary, and they proposed a plan to the following effect: that a grand council should be formed of members, to be chosen by the provincial legislatures, which council, together with a governor to be appointed by the crown, should be authorized to make general laws, and also to raise money from all the colonies for their common defence. The leading members of the colonial assemblies were of opinion that, if this plan were adopted, they could defend themselves from the French without any assistance from Great Britain. This plan, when submitted to the British government, excited their jealousy. They foresaw that a union of the colonies might teach them the secret of their own strength, and lead to notions of independence. The "Albany Plan of Union"

was therefore rejected, and another scheme framed by the ministry, which was far from meeting the approbation of the colonies.

This jealousy of the increasing strength of the colonies never abandoned the British ministry. During the wars with France, many of the provinces made exertions in the common cause far beyond what was expected of them. As often as money or men were wanted by the ministry, requisitions were made upon the legislatures: these were generally complied with in a prompt and bountiful manner. Yet Mr. Pitt, the minister, is said to have told Dr. Franklin, that, when the war closed, if he should be at the head of affairs, he would take measures to prevent the colonies from having a power to refuse or delay the supplies that might be wanted for national purposes. In the prosecution of this war the advantages derived from the colonies by Great Britain were immense. Upwards of four hundred privateers were fitted out of the colonial ports to cruise against the French. The number of colonial troops who served in the different campaigns amounted to twenty-three thousand and eight hundred. In addition to these they sent powerful reinforcements to join the expeditions which captured Havana and Martinique. The success of the British arms, in consequence of the aid afforded by the American colonies, laid the foundation of that great naval superiority of England, which subsequently excited the envy and the fears of Europe. The peace of 1763, gave Great Britain the possession of an extent of country equal in dimensions to several kingdoms of Europe. The possession of Canada in the north, and of East and West Florida in the south, made her almost sole mistress of the North American continent.

But another consequence, entirely unforeseen, followed the overthrow of the French power in North America. The jealous feelings of liberty and independence, which were already cherished in the colonies, and which grew out of their local situation and the state of society among them, were increased by the removal of hostile neighbors. The events of the war had also given them some experi-

ence in military operations, and much confidence in their own strength. They were not slow in foreseeing their future importance from the rapid increase of their population and the extension of their commerce; and being extremely jealous of their rights, they readily admitted, and with pleasure indulged, ideas and sentiments which were favorable to independence. Yet of this they were all unconscious themselves. Not a word had been uttered about resisting the authority of the mother country; but the colonists knew their rights, and saw, more clearly than ever, the means of resisting any encroachments upon them.

At the peace of 1763, the national debt of Great Britain amounted to one hundred and forty eight millions sterling; a sum which was considered at that day as most enormous, although it has since been augmented six fold. Yet the means then possessed by the nation for meeting this expense were comparatively small. The ministry, in their deliberations for raising a revenue to pay off the interest of the debt, among other expedients turned toward the colonies for supplies. A general scheme of taxation by the authority of parliament at first suggested itself, but the question was open to controversy. On the one hand it was urged that the late war originated on account of the colonies, and that it was reasonable, considering it had terminated in a manner so favorable to their interests, that they should contribute towards defraying the expenses of it. The colonists admitted the strength of this argument; but the ministerial party contended farther, that the British parliament, as the supreme power of the empire, was constitutionally vested with an authority to tax every part of the British dominions. This doctrine, plausible enough in itself, and conformable to the letter of the British constitution when the whole dominion was represented in one assembly, was reprobated in the colonies as contrary to the spirit of the British government, when the empire became so far extended as to have many distinct representative assemblies.

The colonists regarded the excellence of the British constitution to consist in the popular character of the parlia-

ment, where the people had a share in the government by appointing members, who formed one of its constituent branches, and without whose concurrence no law, binding on them, could be enacted. In England, on the contrary, it was asserted to be essential to the unity of the empire that the British parliament should have a right of taxation over every part of the royal dominion. In the colonies it was believed that taxation and representation were inseparable, and that the Americans could neither be free nor happy if their property could be taken from them without their consent. The people of America reasoned on this subject in a summary way. If a British parliament, said they, in which we are unrepresented, and over which we have no control, can take from us any part of our property by direct taxation, they may take as much as they please, and we have no security for anything that remains, but their own forbearance. The Americans inherited this jealousy of arbitrary power from their ancestors. They viewed the exclusive right of laying taxes on themselves, by the authority of the mother country, in the same light as the British parliament viewed its peculiar privilege of raising money independent of the crown. The parent state appeared to the colonists to stand in the same relation to their local legislatures, as the king of Great Britain to the parliament; his prerogative being limited by that palladium of the people's liberty, the exclusive privilege of granting their own money.

There were precedents in the history of England which justified this reasoning. The love of property strengthened it among the colonists, and it had a peculiar force in their minds, three thousand miles removed from the parent state, and growing up to maturity in a new world, where, from the extent of country and the state of society, every feeling favorable to political liberty was zealously cherished. On the other hand, the people of Great Britain revolted against the pretensions and claims of the colonists. Educated in habits of submission to parliamentary authority and parliamentary taxation, they conceived it to be the excess of contumacy for the colonists to refuse obedience to

the power which they had been taught to revere. Not adverting to the common interest which existed between the people of Great Britain and their representatives, they believed that the same rights existed, although the same community of interests was wanting. The pride of an opulent, conquering nation aided this mode of reasoning. "What," said they, "shall we who have so lately humbled France and Spain, be dictated to by our colonists? Shall our subjects, educated by our care and defended by our arms, presume to question the rights of parliament, to which we are obliged to submit?" Reflections of this kind, so congenial to human vanity, operated so extensively that the people of Great Britain were accustomed to speak of the colonies and their inhabitants as a kind of property, without any regard to the feelings or the political rights of the human beings whose welfare was so deeply interested in the matter. The love of power and of property on the one side of the Atlantic, was opposed by the same powerful passion on the other side.



AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

CHAPTER II.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*State of feeling among the North American colonists—Loyalty of the Americans—Effect of the peace of Paris—Political privileges of the colonies—Scheme for taxing the Americans—Resolutions of the House of Commons—Imposition of duties on imports—Penal enactments—Remonstrances of the colonists—Scheme for a stamp act—Opposition in the House of Commons—Speech of Colonel Barré—The stamp act passed—Franklin's remark upon the stamp act—Consternation in America—General disaffection of the colonies—Resolutions in the legislature of Virginia—Speech of Patrick Henry—Combination among the colonies—Excitement on the subject of the stamp act—Disturbances at Boston—Affairs in Connecticut and the southern colonies—Stamped paper burnt at New York—General opposition to the stamp act—Discontent in England—Speech of Lord Chatham in parliament—Repeal of the stamp act—Farther designs of the British government—The tea tax—Proceedings in Massachusetts—Convention at Boston—British troops sent to Boston—Non-importation league—Boston Massacre—Discovery of the Hutchinson letters—Great excitement at Boston—Arrival of the tea ships—Ferment at Boston—Destruction of the tea.*

THE history of the North American colonies now assumes an entirely new character, although the spirit and temper of the colonists remained the same. Great Britain had from the beginning treated her children in the western world as a grudging and unnatural step-mother. The narrow and illiberal policy of the British government towards her North American colonies, from their first settlement, was

calculated to alienate the affections of the colonies from the parent country ; yet, from their exposed situation and habitual loyalty, this conduct, long persevered in, produced no sensible impression on the Americans ; their loyalty and attachment to the interests of Britain were not in the smallest degree impaired, down to the period of the peace of Paris, in 1763. Never had they shown so much zeal, or made such great sacrifices in the cause of their country, as during the preceding war ; having lost more than twenty-five thousand men, expended all the revenues they could raise, and involved themselves deeply in debt. Nearly all the burden of the war in America had fallen on the colonies ; and their exertions were altogether disproportionate to their means, and tended greatly to impoverish and distress them. After eight years' arduous struggles, attended with the greatest sacrifices, the successful termination of the war,—the dominion of France in America being relinquished forever,—occasioned universal joy throughout the colonies ; they forgot their sufferings and distresses, in the fair prospects which the peace afforded.

But these prospects were of short duration ; the peace of Paris formed a new era in the views and conduct of Great Britain towards her colonies in America. The possessions of France in America having been ceded to Britain, and having no longer any fear of her power in this hemisphere, a system of measures was pursued towards the colonies, originating in jealousy, and tending to despotism. As soon as the colonies had fought their way to a condition which afforded the prospect of rapidly increasing in population and wealth, attempts were made to restrict their commercial and political privileges, and gradually to reduce them to the most wretched state of colonial vassalage. For a century and a half, the colonies had been left to themselves, as to taxation ; their own local assemblies had provided the necessary revenues to defray the expenses of their governments ; and the parliament of Great Britain had, neither directly nor indirectly, ever attempted to derive a dollar of revenue from America. Although various acts had from time to time been passed, regulating the trade and com-

merce of the colonies, yet none of these were designed or regarded, either in Britain or America, as revenue laws.

But, in an inauspicious moment, the British ministry conceived the idea of taxing the colonies, under the pretence of providing for their protection, but in reality to relieve the nation from the immense debt, the weight of which hung heavily upon it. This impolitic scheme, originating with the cabinet, was easily introduced into parliament; and, in March, 1764, as a prelude to the memorable *stamp act*, the house of commons resolved,—“That towards defraying the necessary expenses of protecting the colonies, *it may be necessary to charge certain stamp duties upon them;*” and this resolution was followed by what was commonly called the sugar act, passed on the 5th of April, and introduced by the following truly alarming preamble: “Whereas it is *just* and *necessary* that a revenue be raised in America, for defraying the expenses of defending, protecting, and securing the same; we, the commons, &c., towards raising the same, give and grant unto your majesty, after the 29th day of September, 1764, on clayed sugar, indigo, and coffee, of foreign produce, and various other articles, the sum of,” &c. This was the first act adopted by parliament for the avowed object of raising a revenue in the colonies.

The *justice* of this measure, which appeared so clear to the British parliament, was regarded in America as *oppression* and *tyranny*, and occasioned great excitement and alarm. The deceptive pretension, that the revenue was to be raised for the purpose of protecting the colonies, was only adding insult to injustice; as the colonies supposed that they were capable of protecting themselves; and they apprehended that the object was rather, under the pretence of affording them protection, to maintain a military force in America, for the purpose of dragooning them into submission, and enforcing an unconstitutional system of taxation; thereby rendering them the instruments of forging their own chains.

This act was rendered more disgusting by a provision that the money raised by it must be paid in specie, and

another, that those charged with having violated the revenue laws might be prosecuted in the courts of admiralty; whereby they were deprived of the privilege of trial by a jury, and were liable to be condemned by a single officer of the crown, whose salary was to be paid from the very forfeitures decreed by himself. And this was not all, or even the worst; as the trial was conducted on such principles, that the accused, contrary to the well-known maxims of the common law, and repugnant to every idea of justice, was obliged to prove himself innocent, or suffer the penalties of the law. These iniquitous proceedings destroyed all security of property, and left every one at the mercy of the minions of the British crown. Their pernicious influence was soon felt extensively in the colonies; they no longer regarded Great Britain as an affectionate mother, but viewed her in the light of a selfish, cruel, and imperious step-mother.



George Grenville.

The designs of the ministry were perceived, and occasioned great alarm, which spread wider and wider, until

it became universal in the colony. The press, that great engine of truth and liberty, was called into requisition; the subject was ably and elaborately discussed; and the more it was discussed, and the better it was understood, the more strong and determined the opposition became. All the colonies petitioned and remonstrated against these obnoxious measures, and most of them appointed agents to present their memorials to parliament, or the king. But, notwithstanding the opposition and excitement in America, and the remonstrances of the colonies, Mr. George Grenville, who was at the head of the treasury, prepared the Stamp Act, and introduced it into parliament in February, 1765. It was opposed, with all the powers of eloquence, by Alderman Beckford, Mr. Jackson, Colonel Barré, Sir William Meredith, and others.



Colonel Barré.

In the debate on the stamp act, Mr. Charles Townshend, defending the measure, used the following language: "And now will these Americans, children planted by our own care, nourished up by our indulgence till they are

grown to a degree of strength and opulence, and protected by our arms;—will they grudge to contribute their mite to relieve us from the heavy weight of that burden which we lie under?" This called forth an energetic and eloquent reply from Colonel Barrè, the friend of the colonists, and the individual who conferred on them the name by which they were known during the early part of the struggle—that of "Sons of Liberty." He retorted upon Townshend in the following style:—" *They planted by your care!*—No—your *oppressions* planted them in America. They fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable country, where they exposed themselves to almost all the hardships to which human nature is liable. And yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all hardships with pleasure, compared with those they suffered in their own country from those who should have been their friends.— *They nourished up by your indulgence!* They grew up by your neglect of them. As soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule them, to spy out their liberties, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them.— *They protected by your arms!* They have nobly taken up arms in *your defence*; have exerted a valor, amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country whose frontier was drenched in blood, while its interior parts yielded all its little savings to your emolument. I know more of America than the most of you, having seen, and been conversant in that country. The people, I believe, are as truly loyal as any subjects the king has, but they are a people jealous of their liberties, and who *will vindicate them, if they should be violated.* The subject is too delicate—I will say no more." These bold and forcible apostrophes, thrown out on the spur of the moment, with exceeding force and confidence, threw the whole house of commons into amazement. The members were struck dumb, and sat for some minutes, gazing upon one another in silent amazement.

On the second reading of the bill, various petitions, not only from the colonies, but from the London merchants

interested in the American trade, were presented; but the petitions were not even received, being refused on the plea that no memorial could be received on a money bill. Having passed both houses of parliament, on the 22d of March, the stamp act received the royal assent. Dr. Franklin, then in England, as agent for Pennsylvania, wrote to Charles Thompson, afterwards secretary of congress—“The sun of liberty is set; you must light up the lamps of industry and economy.” Mr. Thompson, in a spirited reply, observed, “that he thought *other lights* would be lighted up to resist these unconstitutional measures.” It is unnecessary to add, that this prediction was soon fulfilled.

This unjust and impolitic act was the first great cause which led to the American revolution. It was passed in parliament on the 7th of February, 1765, under the ministry of Grenville. The period of thirteen months which followed, was the most eventful and tumultuous of any which had hitherto occurred in the colonies; the apprehensions of the people were roused to the highest pitch, and the most determined spirit of opposition prevailed throughout the colonies.

The Americans had not believed that the act would be passed; and, on receiving the intelligence, every one was struck with astonishment, and filled with consternation. They looked at each other with amazement, and, for a short interval, hesitated what course to pursue; but soon, recovering from their consternation, they determined not to submit to such a flagrant outrage on their rights. In Boston, the ships in the harbor, in token of the deepest mourning, suspended their colors half-mast high; the bells were tolled; and the hateful act, with a death’s head in front of it, with the motto—“*The folly of England, and the ruin of America,*” was paraded in solemn procession about the streets.

A settled discontent soon spread throughout the colonies, and the opposition became general and determined; the spirit of the people gave a tone to the colonial assemblies, and bold and decided resolutions were adopted against the

iniquitous scheme of parliamentary taxation. Virginia took the lead, and, on the 28th of May, 1765, Patrick Henry introduced his celebrated resolutions into the house of burgesses, which declared that the inhabitants of that colony were entitled to, and had possessed and enjoyed, all the rights, liberties, and privileges of the people of Great Britain; that the general assembly of the colony had always exercised, and alone possessed, the power to levy taxes and imposts on the inhabitants of the colony, and that they "were not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatever upon them, other than the law and ordinances of the general assembly." In his defence of these resolutions, Henry gave vent to that celebrated burst of eloquence: "Cæsar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third"— "Treason! treason!" burst from the lips of the speaker, and most of the members of the assembly. Henry faltered not an instant, but, with the most emphatic determination of voice and manner, continued,— "*may profit* by their example!"

These resolutions were communicated to all the colonies, and the spirit they breathed spread from one legislature to another, and their sentiments were reiterated in resolutions adopted by the legislatures, and the freemen in public meetings. Committees were appointed, by the assemblies of the colonies, to correspond with each other, and to meet for consultation; the object of which was to secure harmony of feeling and concert of action. These measures had a very happy effect. In the mean time, the press teemed with constant publications, vindicating the rights of the colonies; and many of them were of a highly inflammatory character, calculated to raise the public mind to the highest pitch. The pulpit, also, particularly in New England, labored in the same cause, with great zeal and effect. The flame of liberty kindled from breast to breast, and spread from province to province, until the conflagration became general. The spirit of opposition ran so high, as to break out into acts of tumult and disorder.

*Patrick Henry.*

In Boston, the effigy of Mr. Oliver, the stamp master, was burnt, and his house assailed, partly demolished, and his furniture destroyed; and, soon after, the house of William Storer, deputy-register of the court of admiralty, was attacked, and the books and files of the court destroyed; and the house of Benjamin Hallowell, comptroller of the customs, shared the same fate. These outrages were followed by a more bold and daring attack upon the dwelling of Mr. Hutchinson, lieutenant-governor of the province; he was obliged to flee to save his life, and his house was entirely demolished, except the walls, and everything in it destroyed or carried off. Similar outrages were committed in other places. In Connecticut, Mr. Ingersoll, the stamp officer, was burnt in effigy in many towns; and whilst he was proceeding from New Haven to Hartford, where the assembly was in session, he was pursued and overtaken by a large concourse of people, some from more than thirty miles, and compelled to resign his office, which was followed by three hearty cheers of liberty and property. This took place at Weathersfield, from whence

the people, who were headed by militia officers, proceeded to Hartford, where Mr. Ingersoll was compelled to read his resignation in the hearing of the assembly, which was succeeded by loud acclamations of liberty and property. In New York, the stamp officer was compelled to resign, and Lieutenant-Governor Colden was burnt in effigy, with a stamp bill in his hand, suspended from his own coach, and the whole was consumed together.

In the southern colonies, the public feeling did not lead to the same excesses; but in all of them, means were found to compel the stamp officers to resign; and in all the colonies the assemblies adopted resolutions in opposition to the stamp act, although, in many of them, the royal governors prorogued and attempted to stop their proceedings. The members of the colonial assemblies were animated and encouraged by the people, who, in most of the towns, instructed them to oppose the stamp act. But the most important measure to unite the colonies, and give energy and effect to their opposition, was convening a continental congress, consisting of deputies appointed by each colony. This measure was first proposed by the assembly of Massachusetts. The meeting was appointed to be holden in New York, in October, 1765. All the colonies, except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia, sent deputies; the three last of these colonies were prevented by their governors, and the first excused itself on account of its peculiar situation. The congress, after mature deliberation, adopted a declaration of rights, and a statement of the grievances of the colonies, and asserted, in the strongest terms, their exemption from all taxes not imposed by their own representatives. It also prepared a petition to the house of commons.

As the first of November, the time when the stamp act was to go into operation, approached, public feeling became still stronger, and was excited to the utmost to prevent the execution of the law. In New York, ten boxes of stamps, which had arrived there from Connecticut, were seized by the populace and burned; and in other ports,

the masters of vessels, which brought out stamps, were compelled to return with their detestable cargoes, or deliver them up to the people to be destroyed. In Boston and many of the other principal towns, the first of November, 1765, was kept as a day of mourning and deep distress; all the shops were shut, the bells were tolled, muffled, and the effigies of the authors and abettors of the act were carried in procession through the streets; and then torn to pieces and consumed by the flames.

The lawyers of the supreme court in New Jersey resolved that they would not purchase the stamps in their professional business, and that they would relinquish their practice as a sacrifice to the public good; and the principal merchants in the colonies, and great numbers of other classes of the inhabitants, entered into solemn engagements, not only to refuse to use the stamps, but also not to import any more goods from Great Britain until the stamp act should be repealed. Associations were formed, called the "Sons of Liberty," the object of which was, to assist and protect with force, if necessary, every one who might be in danger from his resistance or opposition to the stamp act. Such was the effect of these measures, that, on the first of November, when the act went into operation, not a sheet of stamped paper could be purchased throughout the whole extent of the colonies.

The restrictive measures produced distress and tumults in England, large numbers of the manufacturers being thrown out of employment, and more than forty thousand, with black flags, appeared in the streets of London, and surrounded the royal palace and parliament house. Fortunately, a change of ministry took place, in consequence of what was called the regency bill, and Lord Grenville was succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham, as first lord of the treasury, and the Duke of Grafton and General Conway were appointed secretaries of state. In January, 1766, the parliament met; the affairs of America occupied the principal attention, and the first talents of the house were engaged in the discussion. Lord Chatham, who had been confined to his bed by sickness when the stamp act



Lord Chatham.

was passed, now came forward as the great champion of the rights of the Americans, and with his manly and all-powerful eloquence opposed the unjust, unconstitutional, and dangerous measure; he even justified the Americans in their resistance of an act of tyranny and oppression. After a long and animated discussion, the act was repealed, on the 18th of March, 1766; accompanied, however, with a declaration, "that the king and parliament had, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force to bind the colonies, and his majesty's subjects in them, *in all cases whatever.*" An act of indemnity was also passed.

The repeal of the stamp act occasioned universal joy, both in Great Britain and America; the ships in the Thames displayed their colors, and the whole city of London was illuminated; and in the colonies, notwithstanding the declaratory act, asserting the principle of taxation, the rejoicings were universal; the non-importation resolutions were rescinded; animosities, ill-treatment, and everything past, were forgotten, and commercial in-

tercourse with Great Britain was resumed with greater activity than ever before had been witnessed. The colonies hoped and believed that harmony would now be restored, and did everything in their power to promote this desirable object. But the officers of the crown, the minions of power, and the expectants of place, kept up a correspondence with the officers of the British government at home, and attempted to promote their own selfish views by misrepresenting their countrymen. Governor Bernard, of Massachusetts, was the head of this party, which contributed so much to breed difficulties and bring matters to a crisis. Notwithstanding that the declaratory act still hung over the heads of the colonies, like a portentous cloud, it was not generally expected that the British government would very soon make another so dangerous an experiment. But these reasonable expectations, however, soon proved to be fallacious, and all reliance on the justice or liberality of Britain was found to be deceptive and dangerous.

Notwithstanding the distraction into which the colonies had been thrown by the stamp act, within a few months after its repeal, and before the wounds it had occasioned had had time to heal, the chancellor of the exchequer, Charles Townshend, came forward with a new scheme of taxing America, and was so sanguine in his views, that he pledged his character for the success of the project. The new revenue scheme was, to take off the duties on teas which were paid in Great Britain, and to levy three pence per pound on all that was purchased in America, and also a duty on tea, paper, glass, and several other articles. A board of customs was established, and commissioners appointed to sit in Boston to collect the duties; the custom officers were to be paid from the revenue thus raised; and the governor, judges of the superior court, and other officers in Massachusetts, who had hitherto been dependent for their salaries on the colonial legislature, to render them independent of the people, and more devoted to Great Britain, were also to be paid from these revenues. And, to carry the iniquitous system into effect—as unjust

laws can only be enforced by unjust means—the powers of the court of admiralty were greatly extended, so as to deprive the people of trial by jury in prosecutions for violating the revenue laws. Writs of assistance, as they were called, issued by the governor, or any officer of the revenue, authorized searching the house of the most respectable inhabitant in the province, on suspicion of the concealment of contraband or smuggled goods.

When intelligence of these new parliamentary regulations reached America, they occasioned universal astonishment, and revived all the excitement and alarm which prevailed during the stamp act. In the minds of reflecting men, they were regarded as more dangerous than that detested measure; as an indirect and disguised system of taxation had a more certain and fatal tendency to undermine the liberties, and enslave the people, than direct taxes. The colonies, assailed by the same injuries, had recourse to their former measures of complaint and supplication; but their petitions were not even read, and their remonstrances were treated with contempt, thus adding insult to injustice.

These accumulated injuries and indignities aroused the fears and spirit of the colonies; and a circular letter, addressed to the other colonies, by the assembly of Massachusetts, contributed to diffuse the flame, and lead to concert of action. This letter was dated the 11th of February, 1768, and the sentiments it contained were responded to by most of the colonial assemblies. From the bold and determined conduct of the general court of Massachusetts, it was prorogued by the governor. Another general court was convened in May following. The governor, in his first communication, insolently demanded of them, as required by the British secretary of state, to rescind the resolutions of the preceding assembly, which led to the circular letter, and intimated that, unless they complied immediately, they would be dissolved at once. But the assembly acted with a firmness which became the defenders of liberty; and, instead of complying with his haughty mandate, petitioned the king for the removal of Governor Bernard, and charged upon him a long catalogue

of crimes. The governor, exasperated at their conduct, immediately dissolved the assembly, and applied to the commander-in-chief of the king's troops, then in New York, to have several additional regiments sent to Boston. Alarmed at these circumstances, the inhabitants of Boston besought the governor to convene another assembly; but he treated their request with contempt.

The crisis required something to be done without delay, and, accordingly, letters were written to every town in Massachusetts, requesting the appointment of delegates to meet in convention at Boston, before the arrival of the troops. Delegates from ninety-six towns met on the 22d of September. The governor instantly sent them an angry message, commanding them to disperse, threatening, in case of refusal, that they should suffer the consequence of their temerity. The convention, however, was not frightened into submission, but gave their reasons for convening, continued their deliberations, and prepared a petition to the king. On the 1st of October, the troops arrived, and landed, and, sword in hand, paraded through the streets of Boston, which were filled with vast crowds, who, with sullen silence, denoting the deepest resentment, witnessed this, the first act in the great and bloody drama about to be performed. No tumult or resistance, however, ensued, notwithstanding the troops were quartered in the houses of the inhabitants. The assembly met in May, 1769, and immediately adopted resolutions, that the placing an armed force where the legislature was convened, to overawe their deliberations, was a breach of privilege; and that the quartering of troops on the inhabitants in time of *peace* was illegal, and a violation of the rights and liberties of British subjects.

A standing army was now stationed in the capital of Massachusetts, for the avowed object of coercing the inhabitants into submission; their commerce was fettered, their characters were traduced, the legislature was prevented from meeting, and the petitions of all classes to have it convened, were treated with contempt by an insolent governor, who threatened to augment the troops, and enforce,

at all hazards, his arbitrary and tyrannical measures. It cannot be surprising that the fears and exasperations of the people exceeded what had ever been witnessed before. At this alarming conjuncture, there was no alternative but submission or resistance. Petitions had been treated with such contempt, that to memorialize any branch of the British government would be equivalent to submission; and there were but two ways of resistance—either an appeal to the sword, or an entire suspension of all commercial intercourse with Great Britain. This commerce, as was said by Mr. Pitt, in his speech, furnished the means whereby Britain had carried on the war with France, and, if continued by the colonies, would furnish the means for their own oppression.

As all the colonies were involved in one common danger, they readily entered into the most solemn engagements that no British or India goods should be imported, except a few specified articles of necessary use. The effects of these arrangements were soon felt in England, and produced clamors and even tumults in some parts of the kingdom. But the partisans of the crown in America endeavored, by their correspondence, to induce the ministry to persevere in their oppressive measures, and represented, in the strongest terms, that the interruption of commerce was only an effort of desperation, which could not last long. They advised the ministry to purchase large quantities of goods, designed for the American market, and also to allow the merchants engaged in the American trade a premium equal to the profits of their stock in business. "If these measures are adopted," said Mr. Oliver, secretary in Massachusetts, in one of his letters, "*the game will soon be up with my countrymen.*"

The general court, which convened at Boston in May, sat several weeks without doing any business, as they refused to act as long as an armed force was quartered in the town and surrounded the house where they were in session. They were finally adjourned to Cambridge. They sent several messages to the governor to have the troops removed; but, after evading the matter for some time, he

declared that he had no authority over the king's troops; thus admitting that the military was above the civil power in the province. Governor Bernard sent a provoking message, stating the expenditures of quartering the troops on the town, and requesting that provision should be made for the same, and also for their future support. The assembly were thus called on to maintain the instruments by which they were to be oppressed and enslaved. But, instead of complying with this request, they passed several spirited resolutions, censuring the conduct of the governor and General Gage, who commanded the troops, for their rash and oppressive measures, their wanton violations of the constitution, the introduction of a standing army in time of peace, and their encroachments on the liberties of the citizens and of the province.

The governor had received an order to repair to England, and lay before the king the state of the colony, which he communicated to the assembly, with a request that his salary might be continued during his absence, as his office would remain. But the assembly informed him, in decided terms, that they could not comply with either of his requests. On receiving this answer, he immediately, after a short, angry, and threatening speech, prorogued the legislature. He soon after set sail for Europe,—then little thinking he should never return to a country, that, by his violent temper and arbitrary conduct, he had brought to the brink of civil war. His reception at court convinced the Americans of the truth of what they feared, that the governor had been sent for as a tool of mischief, rather than for an impartial inquiry into the real situation of the province, or an investigation of his own conduct.

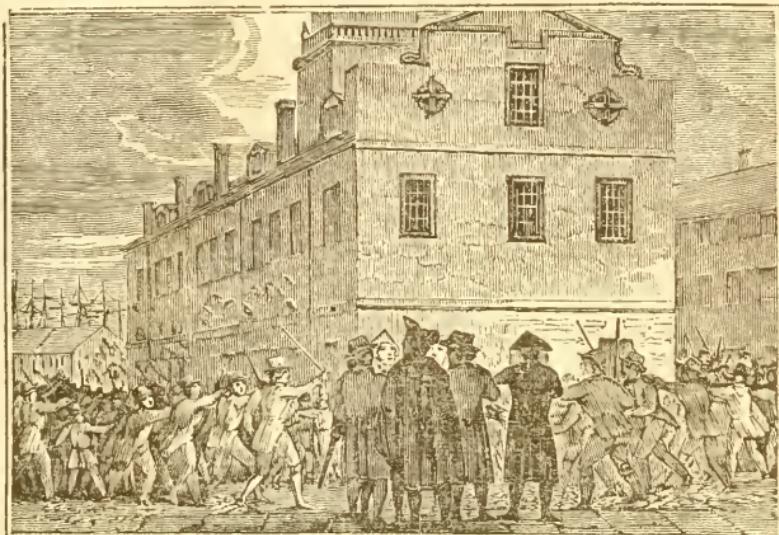
Thomas Hutchinson, the lieutenant-governor, was appointed to succeed Governor Bernard. Hutchinson was a native of Boston, and had run a career of popularity. Whilst, however, he was courting the people at home, he was not less assiduous in ingratiating himself into the favor of the British government, by misrepresenting his countrymen. He was artful and plausible, and possessed of popular talents, but was insidious, intriguing and am-

bitious, and the extreme of avarice marked every feature of his character. His appointment was announced at the close of the year 1769. He immediately assumed a haughty tone, and aimed at more high-handed measures than his predecessor. He commenced his administration by informing the assembly that he was *independent* of them and the people, as his majesty had made provision for his salary. Secure of the favor of his sovereign, he treated the people and the assembly with contempt, and answered their repeated solicitations to remove the troops from the capital, by withdrawing the garrison from a strong fortress in the harbor of Boston, who were in the pay of the province, and replacing them by two regiments of the king's troops.

The ebullitions of popular feeling were so high as to occasion great alarm with the leading patriots, that it would break out into acts of violence, which might injure the cause of the people. The miserable minions of power in America endeavored to promote this result, and openly avowed "that the only method to restore tranquillity was to *take off* the original incendiaries, whose writings had instilled the poison of sedition into the people." James Otis, the most active, bold and influential patriot of the day, having published, under his proper signature, some severe strictures on the conduct of the officers of the crown, was assaulted in a public room, by a band of hired ruffians, with swords and bludgeons, and, being covered with wounds, was left for dead. The assassins made their escape, and took refuge on board the king's ships in the harbor. Mr. Otis survived, but the lamp of his understanding, which had glowed with such effulgence, was overcast with clouds and darkness. Mr. John Adams says, that he "laid the foundation of the American revolution, with an energy, and with those masterly talents, which no other man possessed;" and he is justly considered as the first martyr to American liberty.

The insults which the inhabitants of Boston constantly experienced from the soldiers, increased their animosity towards them to such a degree, as to lead to violence and

bloodshed. On the 2d of March, 1770, an affray took place between a party of soldiers of the 29th regiment, and some ropemakers, in front of Mr. Gray's ropewalk.



Boston Massacre.

This was followed by a more alarming outrage on the 5th; the indignant populace pressed upon and insulted the soldiers, while under arms, and assailed them with clubs, sticks, and snowballs covering stones. Being dared to fire by the mob, six of the soldiers discharged their muskets, which killed three of the citizens, and wounded five others. The town was instantly in commotion; and the mass of the people were so exasperated, that it required the utmost exertions to prevent their rallying, and driving the British myrmidons out of town; and nothing but an assurance that the troops should be withdrawn, prevented this resort to force. The captain of the party, and eight men, were brought to trial; two of the men were found guilty; the captain and the other men were acquitted. A general meeting of the inhabitants was immediately assembled in Faneuil Hall, who unanimously resolved that no armed force should be suffered longer to reside in the capital; and a committee was appointed to wait on the governor, and request the immediate removal of the troops.

The governor refused to act, under pretence of want of authority; but Colonel Dalrymple, alarmed at the state of things, proposed to withdraw the 29th regiment, which was more culpable than any other. But he was informed that not a soldier should be left in town; he was reluctantly compelled to comply, and, within four days, not a *red-coat* remained in Boston.

This tragical affair produced the deepest impression on the minds of the people; and the anniversary of the massacre of the 5th of March, 1770, was commemorated for many years, and orations delivered, in which the blessings of civil liberty, the horrors of slavery, the dangers of standing armies, and the rights of the colonies, were set forth in glowing terms. These annual orations administered fuel to the fire of liberty, and kept it burning with an incessant flame, and in no small degree promoted the cause of the colonies.

In the spring of 1773, the schooner Gaspee was stationed at Providence, to prevent smuggling; and the conduct of the commander having exasperated the inhabitants, two hundred men entered on board the schooner at night, and compelled the captain and crew to go ashore, and then set fire to the vessel. The government offered a reward of five hundred pounds for the apprehension of any of the persons engaged in this outrage; but such was the spirit and unanimity of the people, that this pecuniary inducement produced no effect, and the authors of the outrage could not be discovered. About this period, the letters of Governor Hutchinson and Mr. Oliver, to their friends in England, urging the government to adopt more decisive and vigorous measures to coerce the colonies into submission, were discovered and sent back to America by Dr. Franklin. These, being published by the assembly of Massachusetts, greatly contributed to inflame the public mind and exasperate the people against these officers of the crown, who were justly charged with having shamefully betrayed their trust, and the people, whose rights it was their duty vigilantly to guard.

The British government now attempted a system of

cajolery, by a show of moderation. Whilst the other duties were repealed, that on tea was retained, for the sole and avowed object of maintaining the power, which parliament had asserted, of collecting a revenue in America. The ministerial scheme was cunning and artful, but did not, in the least degree, deceive the vigilance of the Americans. The object was to *cheat* the colonies out of their rights, by collecting an indirect, imperceptible duty, little more than *nominal* in amount, which, however, if acquiesced in, would have been an admission of the *principle* or right of Britain to raise a revenue in America. It was an attempt to obtain, covertly and by *fraud*, what they had attempted but failed to obtain openly by *force*.

In the first place, measures were adopted, openly and explicitly, for taxing the colonies, the duties to be paid directly by the consumer; but, being unable to enforce this act, it was repealed, accompanied with a declaration of the *right* of parliament to tax the Americans, in all cases whatsoever. This naked assertion of a right, when the application of it had been attempted and abandoned, did not give the Americans much concern; they would not have cared, if the British had kept that assertion of a *right* to do wrong on their statute-book as long as the two countries existed, provided they had not attempted to exercise their assumed right.

The duty was more artfully disguised than a single impost. It was, in fact, no additional burden on the consumers of tea, it being only a different *mode* of collecting the duty which had before been paid; yet this alteration of the mode involved the right and power of parliament to establish a revenue system in America. According to the former regulations, the teas of the India Company were first brought to England, where a duty was paid before they were sent to the colonies. The scheme was merely to change the place and mode of collecting the duty; it was to be paid in America, instead of England; for which purpose, custom regulations were established, and officers appointed. A duty of three pence on a pound of tea would not be felt by the people, and this, or rather

a greater duty, had been paid before, in England; so that, instead of the burdens of the people being increased, they were rather lightened by this new regulation. So artfully disguised was this scheme.

It is a maxim with many politicians, and too generally correct, that the people will not be alarmed or excited by any principle, however it may be fraught with danger; that they must *feel* and *suffer*, before their fears will arouse them into action. But this maxim did not hold true with the Americans; they saw the danger, and resolved to resist, at the hazard of their lives, a *principle* calculated to undermine the foundation of their liberty, although its operation at the time was not *felt* in the slightest degree. The resistance of the Americans to the scheme of collecting a duty on tea in America, instead of England, was the resistance of the *principle* which that scheme involved, solely, as no additional burden was thereby imposed on the people. It is not, however, to be supposed that the colonists would have been so alarmed, and aroused to such a spirit of resistance, by the new regulations as to tea, had it not been for the previous measures of the parent country, evincing, in the clearest manner, a settled design to exercise the power of taxation over them. They considered the new regulations as to tea as an artful and disguised revenue system, although it imposed no additional duty; and they were determined not to be *cheated* out of their liberties, as they had before resolved not to be frightened out of them.

Measures were immediately adopted to prevent the introduction of the tea into the country, so as to avoid the payment of the duty; and such was the strength and unanimity of public opinion, that, without the aid of law, or rather in opposition to law, they were enabled to render their measures efficient, solely by the force of public sentiment; although measures, of all others, the most difficult to enforce, as interfering both with the interests and the established habits of the people. In most of the towns throughout the colonies, the people assembled, and resolved to discontinue the use of tea, which was now regarded as an

herb—however agreeable as a beverage—*noxious* to the political constitution. In the large commercial cities, regulations were adopted to prevent the landing of tea; committees were appointed to inspect merchants' books, propose tests, and make use of other means to defeat the designs of Britain. Where it could be done, consignees of the teas were persuaded or compelled to resign, or to bind themselves not to act in that capacity.

The teas consumed in the colonies had been principally smuggled into the country by the Dutch and French, who were favored by the inhabitants in evading the revenue laws. During the four or five years that the new system had been in existence, very trifling quantities of teas had been introduced into the colonies; and instead of the restrictive measures being relaxed, as was expected in England, they increased in vigor and efficacy, and the quantity of tea introduced had constantly diminished.

As had been the case with other matters of difference between the two countries, the principal struggle, growing out of the regulations as to tea, occurred at Boston. The other provinces had avoided the alternative which was reserved for this, of either suffering the teas to be disposed of, or to destroy them by violent means. Knowing the spirit of the inhabitants of Boston, the India Company had been more cautious as to the cargoes shipped for that port, than those sent to the other provinces; and the zeal of Governor Hutchinson, and the other officers of the crown there, greatly surpassed that of the crown officers in the other colonies, and was calculated to frustrate the measures of the inhabitants. The tea-ships destined to Boston were all consigned to the sons, cousins, and persons who were the merest tools of Governor Hutchinson. When called on to resign, the only answer they would give was, "that it was not in their power." The tea-ships arrived at Boston in November, 1773.

As the consignees could not be induced to resign, the next plan was, to compel the vessels to return without landing their detestable cargoes; but the collector refused to give a clearance without the vessels were discharged

of dutiable articles, and the governor refused to give a pass for the vessels until they were properly qualified from the custom-house; and to guard against the vessels being taken possession of, and conducted out of the harbor, the governor ordered Admiral Montague, who commanded the naval force, to keep a vigilant look-out, and to suffer no vessel, coasters excepted, to pass the fortress from the town, without a pass signed by himself. The rigorous adherence to these measures, afforded great satisfaction to the governor and his minions, and all the British party; they flattered themselves that the "Sons of Liberty," after all their clamor, resolutions, and schemes to resist the tea system, were outmanaged, and that it would be impossible for them to prevent the landing and sale of the obnoxious cargoes.

Their measures had been planned so wisely, and their execution was intrusted to agents of such known fidelity to the crown, and who were under the immediate influence and control of the governor, that they thought there was not a loophole, whereby the rebellious Americans could escape paying the hateful tax. The governor, after all he had witnessed and experienced, judging rather from his feelings than his knowledge, was entirely ignorant of public sentiment, and of the spirit of the people; he had no idea that they had determined to resist the obnoxious measure, at every hazard, even that of life. Nothing short of this bold step could prevent the deep-laid scheme against the liberties of the country from succeeding.

Both parties had taken their measures, and the British party were confident of success; the contest was advancing to a crisis; alarm and dismay prevailed; the deepest anxiety was depicted in every countenance. Had an invading army been in the neighborhood, threatening to sack the town, or had the pestilence which walks in darkness ravaged its pavilions, greater gloom could not overspread the town, or stronger indications been exhibited of a pending event, big with the fate of three millions of people.

During this suspense, a report was started, which spread with the rapidity of lightning through the town, that Admiral Montague was about to seize the ships, and dispose

of their cargoes, at public auction, within twenty-four hours; which was believed to be a cunning device of Hutchinson, as this would as effectually have secured the duties, as if the teas had been sold at the stores of the consignees. This rumor was like an electric shock. Leaving their employments, the people rushed into the streets, and, with amazed and terrified countenances, every one seemed to say, What shall we do to prevent the consummation, in so bold and daring a manner, of this iniquitous scheme? In a few moments, as from an instinctive impulse, a vast crowd repaired to the Old South church, in Boston, and organized themselves into a public meeting. Previously to taking any other step, a message was sent to the governor and the consignees, who with difficulty could be found, as they were afraid to encounter even the looks of an indignant and injured people. No satisfactory answers were returned: but, instead of complying with their wishes, whilst the assembled multitude were quietly, notwithstanding the excitement which prevailed, consulting on their critical situation, and the measures proper to be adopted, the sheriff entered with an order from the governor, styling them an illegal and seditious assembly, and ordering them immediately to disperse. But he did not bring with him the *posse comitatus*, as the power of the county was already assembled, and it was that which the sheriff was ordered to disperse. This mandate was treated with deserved contempt, and the sheriff hissed out of the house, mortified and chagrined; and a confused murmur followed, not only in the house, but among the vast multitude from without; but soon order was restored, and the meeting adjourned, without adopting any vote or resolution. The leaders probably supposed that such a meeting was not the place to discuss and devise measures to meet the crisis.

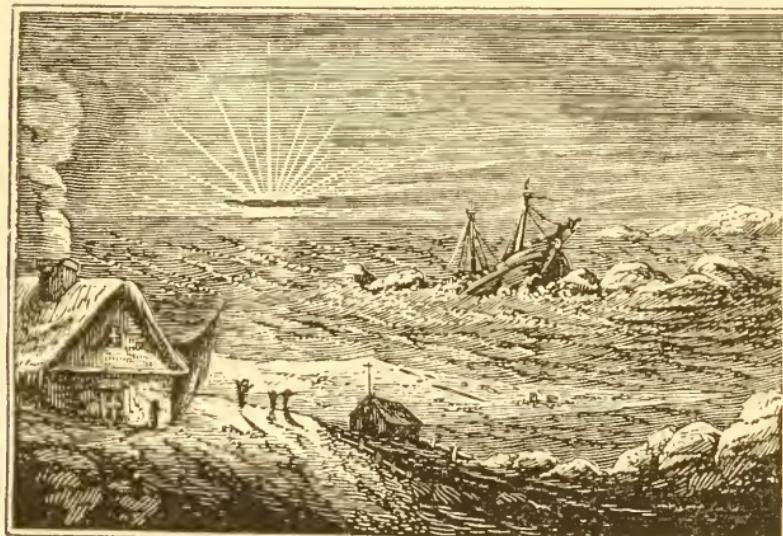
In a few hours after the adjournment of the public meeting, the bold measure, on the success of which the great question of taxation hung suspended, was contrived, matured, and ripened for execution; and, in the evening of Dec. 16th, appeared in the streets a large number of persons, disguised as savages, armed with a tomahawk in one

hand, and a club over the shoulder; who, in a silent and solemn manner, not a voice being heard, marched, in Indian file, through the streets, amidst a crowd of astonished spectators, the most of whom knew not what to think of so unexpected and strange an exhibition; and its novelty, and the surprise which it occasioned, may have prevented any steps being taken to oppose their design.

They proceeded directly towards the wharves where the tea-ships lay; boarded them, and, without the least hesitation or delay, knocked open the tea-chests, three hundred and forty-two in number, and emptied the contents overboard. The deed was done with so much silence and expedition, that, although surrounded by the king's ships, no opposition was made or attempted. The "Indians," having effected their object, showed no marks of triumph; no savage war-whoop was heard; nor did they commit any other violence or disorder, but, in the same silent, solemn, and orderly manner, marched back through the town, followed by a vast crowd. No movements on the part of the British, or disturbance by the people, followed this event; and it was observed at the time, that the stillest night succeeded which Boston had enjoyed for several months. No persons assisted the savages in the destruction of the tea, except some boys or young men, who had assembled on the occasion, and voluntarily took a part in what was going on. One of these youths collected the tea which fell into his own shoes, and those of several of his companions, put it in a phial, and sealed it up, which is now in his possession, containing the same obnoxious tea, which, in this instance, was considered as more dangerous to the political health and constitution of the people even than strong drink. The number of savages, manufactured for the occasion, has been variously estimated, from sixty to eighty.

In the other colonies, the tea met with an equally unwelcome reception; although none of them displayed such spirit and decision as the people of Boston. At New York, the tea was landed under the cannon of a man-of-war. But it met with no purchasers. In other places it was thrown

into damp warehouses, where it was spoiled. Thus the scheme of the “tea-tax” was frustrated at the very outset, and the crafty manœuvres of the British cabinet resulted in nothing but disappointment and mortification to themselves.



CHAPTER III.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Indignation of the British government at the destruction of the tea—Boston port-bill—General Gage governor of Massachusetts—The Quebec bill—General congress at Philadelphia—Further encroachments of the British in Massachusetts—Gage fortifies Boston Neck—General court at Concord—Outrage in Boston—Occurrences in Rhode Island and New Hampshire—Efforts of Lord Chatham and Dr. Franklin, in behalf of the colonies—Gage's expedition to Salem—Exasperation of the people of Massachusetts—Battle of Lexington—Provincial congress in Massachusetts—Capture of Ticonderoga and Crown Point—Movements of the British at Boston—Battle of Bunker Hill.*

THE success of these bold and daring measures astonished Governor Hutchinson and the British party, and seemed to convince him that the “Sons of Liberty” were not quite so contemptible as he had represented them in his letters to the ministry; and it even astonished the whigs in the other colonies, and contributed to fan the flames of liberty, and give them a deeper glow, and more intense heat.

When the intelligence of the destruction of the tea at Boston reached England, accompanied with all the exaggeration and coloring which Hutchinson could give to the story, it produced the utmost excitement and indignation with the ministerial party; and even the opponents of the American revenue system could not justify so rash and desperate a measure. Parliament at once determined to crush the devoted place which was the seat and cause of this high-handed resistance to its supremacy. Its omnipotent power, and all the terrors of its wrath, were to be concentrated and directed against the rebellious town of Boston. Under the auspices of Lord North, who was now

prime minister, a bill was immediately introduced to “discontinue the landing and discharging, landing and shipping of goods, wares, and merchandise, at the town of Boston, or within the harbor.” This bill, called the “Boston Port-Bill,” passed on the 25th of March, 1774, and, when it was known at Boston, threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. A general meeting was called, and resolutions adopted, expressive, in strong terms, of their sense of the oppressive measure; and they requested all the colonies to unite in an engagement to discontinue all importations from Great Britain. This proceeding had immediate effect, and most of the colonies resolved to make common cause with Massachusetts, in her opposition to the unconstitutional measures of parliament.

The 1st of June, when the Boston port-bill was to go into operation, was appointed, by the people of Massachusetts, to be kept as a day of fasting and prayer. On that day, business ceased at Boston, at twelve o'clock, noon, and the harbor was shut against all vessels. The custom-house was removed to Salem. Sailors, merchants, laborers and artificers were immediately thrown out of employment. The immense property in stores, wharves and ships was rendered useless. The rents of houses ceased, for want of the means of payment. Provisions grew scarce, and all persons who depended on their daily labor were threatened with starvation or beggary. A calamity such as this might indeed have been expected to break the spirit of the Bostonians, and bow them to a speedy submission to ministerial rule. But, to the astonishment of the British cabinet, all these sufferings were endured with inflexible fortitude and resolution. No word of submission was uttered, and the inhabitants showed an invincible determination to endure the last extremities sooner than abandon their political rights. In this resolve they were animated by the sympathy and charities of their neighbors. Provisions were sent in from the towns in the vicinity; and the people of Marblehead generously offered the merchants of Boston the use of their harbor, wharves and warehouses, with their personal assistance in unlading their goods, free of all

expense. The flame of patriotism was kept alive by letters and addresses from town meetings and conventions in various parts of the country, and the spirit of resistance against British encroachments waxed stronger than ever.

Meantime, General Gage, the commander-in-chief of the British forces in North America, had been appointed governor of Massachusetts, and arrived at Boston, with a reinforcement of troops, on the 13th of May, 1774. His first proceeding was to involve himself in an altercation with the legislative body, and his next to dissolve them. The committee of correspondence at Boston drew up a declaration, which they entitled a solemn league and covenant, wherein the subscribers bound themselves, in the most solemn manner, to suspend all commercial intercourse with Great Britain, from the last day of the ensuing month of August, until the Boston port-bill and other unpopular laws were repealed, and the colony of Massachusetts fully restored to all its rights. They also bound themselves not to consume or purchase any goods whatsoever which arrived after the specified time.

The Boston port-bill was soon followed by another act of parliament "for the better regulating government in the province of Massachusetts Bay;" the object of which was to alter the charter, so as to make the judges and sheriffs dependent on the king, and removable at his pleasure. And this act was soon succeeded by another, which provided, that any persons indicted for murder, or other capital offence, committed in aiding the magistrates in enforcing the laws, might be sent by the governor either to any other colony or to Great Britain for his trial. The Quebec bill followed in rapid succession, enlarging the bounds of that province, and conferring many privileges on the Roman Catholics. The design of this was to secure the attachment of that province, and prevent its joining with the colonies in their measures of resistance. These measures, instead of intimidating the colonies into submission, only confirmed their fears of the settled designs of Great Britain to deprive them of their chartered rights, and reduce the colonies to the lowest state of political degradation and

oppression. A sense of common danger led to an extensive correspondence between the colonial governments, which resulted in the opinion, that it was expedient to convene a general congress, to consist of deputies from all the colonies.

This congress met at Philadelphia, on the 5th of September, 1774, and comprised among its members some of the most distinguished patriots, statesmen, and orators in this country, or perhaps in any other. Notwithstanding the ferment which prevailed in most of the colonies, their proceedings were characterized by coolness, unanimity, and firmness. They published a long and solemn declaration of rights, as British subjects, and maintained, in the strongest terms, their exemption from taxation by parliament; besides which, they prepared a petition to the king, which was refused to be answered; an address to the *people* of Great Britain; another to the people of America. These documents were drawn up with a masterly hand, and exhibited great dignity and ability, and were, in every respect, worthy of the men who had confided to them the liberties of their country and the destinies of three millions of their countrymen, threatened with slavery. The proceedings of congress did not tend to allay public feeling; and as the royal agents in Massachusetts seemed determined to push matters to extremities, and reduce the people to unconditional submission, by arbitrary and forcible means, everything now threatened a civil war. A new council, and new judges in Massachusetts, were appointed by the crown; and the latter attempted to enter upon the execution of their offices; but the juries refused to be sworn under them; the people in some counties assembled to prevent their proceedings. About this time, the famous "Tree of Liberty," in Boston, which had been pruned and ornamented with so much pride and care, was cut down by the British.

General Gage, apprehending danger from a general muster of the militia, caused the magazines and ammunition at Charlestown and Cambridge to be removed to Boston, and fortified the neck which joins Boston to the

main land, at Roxbury. These measures occasioned a universal panic ; delegates from all the towns in the county of Suffolk met, and spirited resolutions, and a remonstrance to the governor, were adopted.

The general court had been summoned to meet at Salem ; but, from the turbulence of the times, the governor issued his proclamation, countermanaging their meeting : yet, in defiance of the governor's mandate, ninety members met, resolved themselves into a provincial congress, chose



John Hancock.

John Hancock president, and adjourned to Concord, nineteen miles from Boston. They fearlessly proceeded to business. After addressing the governor, and reiterating their grievances, in the face of British law and British troops, they proceeded to adopt the first measures which were taken, directly and avowedly, preparatory to an appeal to the sword, in defence of their rights and liberties. They regulated the militia, made provision for furnishing the people with arms, and for supplying the treasury ; and such was the enthusiasm of the people, that their recommendations had the force of law. Governor Gage was

filled with rage at these daring proceedings, and issued a proclamation, in which he insinuated that they amounted to rebellion.

Early in 1775, parliament passed the fishery bills, which prohibited the colonies from trading in fish with Great Britain, Ireland, and the West Indies, and from taking fish on the banks of Newfoundland. These acts were intended to operate on the town of Boston, which had become the devoted object of ministerial wrath. The various statutes which were passed, occasioned deep and general distress in Boston and its vicinity; but their brethren in the other colonies sympathized with them, and promptly supplied them with provisions of every description for the relief of the sufferers. This policy of the British government was not only oppressive, but mean and contemptible. *Partial* legislation is always odious and tyrannical; yet it consisted with the justice and dignity of the British nation; and a series of acts were passed, and the power of the nation exerted, to crush the town of Boston, because it had shown a more determined spirit of resistance to their oppressive and unconstitutional measures than had appeared in other places. The ministry were not sensible that the colonies considered themselves all engaged in a common cause; they were in hopes to humble and crush the rebellious inhabitants of that devoted town, which they thought would be such a terrific example as would frighten all the colonies into submission. But their designs recoiled on the heads of their authors; for these oppressive measures towards the Bostonians only served to exasperate the people throughout all the colonies, who regarded them as cruel and detestable.

In March, 1775, the public indignation was greatly excited by the following base and most shameful transaction:—

The people from the country, whose business called them into Boston, were suspected by the officers of purchasing guns from their soldiers. In order to furnish an opportunity to inflict punishment, and to raise occasion for a serious quarrel, Lieutenant Colonel Nesbit, of the forty-

seventh regiment, ordered a soldier to offer a countryman an old rusty musket. A man from Billerica was caught by this bait, and purchased the gun for three dollars. The unfortunate man was immediately seized by Nesbit, and confined in the guard-house all night. Early next morning they stripped him entirely naked, covered him over with warm tar and then with feathers, placed him on a cart, and conducted him through the streets as far as Liberty tree, where the people began to collect in vast numbers, and the military, fearing for their safety, dismissed the man, and retreated to their barracks. The party consisted of about thirty grenadiers with fixed bayonets, twenty drums and fifes playing the rogue's march, headed by the redoubtable Nesbit with a drawn sword! 'This was done by a British field officer and grenadiers! The selectmen of Billerica remonstrated with General Gage respecting this outrage, but obtained no satisfaction.



Punishment of a man from Billerica.

The breach between Britain and the colonies had now become so wide, as, with the mass of the people, nearly to exclude all ideas of reconciliation; and both parties began to make preparations for an appeal to the sword. No alternative was left the Americans but slavery, or resistance by force. Measures were adopted for training the militia to the

use of arms, to encourage the manufacture of gunpowder, and for collecting all kinds of military stores; and committees of public safety were appointed in all the towns in the province.

From the natural advantages of its situation and the works thrown up on the neck, Boston had already become a strong-hold. It was also, at the pleasure of the governor, capable of being made a secure prison for the inhabitants, who would thereby become hostages for the province at large. The Bostonians saw the danger, and several schemes were projected to avert it. One of the boldest of these was to burn the town and retire into the country; but neither this daring enterprise, nor any other decisive proceeding, was ultimately determined on. At Rhode Island, the people seized and carried away all the ordnance belonging to the crown in that colony. The assembly of the province also passed resolutions for the procuring of arms and military stores, and for training and arming the inhabitants. The province of New Hampshire, which had hitherto shown a moderate temper, and had behaved with more respect to the British government than the other provinces of New England, as soon as they heard of the resolutions of Rhode Island, and received a copy of the royal proclamation, pursued the same plan. A body of men assembled in arms, and marched to the attack of Fort William and Mary, at Portsmouth, remarkable only for being the object of the first military operation in New Hampshire. This fort was taken December 13th, and supplied them with a quantity of powder. No other act of hostility or violence happened during the winter of 1774; but a firm determination of resistance was universally spread, and increased every day. The arrival of the king's speech and the addresses of the new parliament added to the flame that was already kindled.

The king's speech, in the opinion of the colonists, cut off all hopes of reconciliation, and made them strain every nerve to provide against the storm they saw gathering against them. It is very remarkable that all the public acts and declarations, which, in England, were recommended as the means of pacifying the colonists, by intimi-

dating them, constantly operated in a different manner. The secretary of state for the American department issued a circular letter forbidding, in the king's name, the election of deputies for the ensuing general congress. In spite of this, the elections took place, unobstructed, throughout the country.

The year 1775, an epoch forever memorable in American history, had now arrived. The British government showed no disposition to relax its coercive measures. The colonists exhibited no symptoms of a submissive spirit, and it was evident that a hostile collision must soon take place. What added to the infatuation of the British ministry was the belief, then prevalent in that country, that the Americans were cowards, and would never dare to oppose the British arms in case of extremities. This notion had been encouraged by the rhodomontade of many of the officers of the royal army who had served in America, and who had not the penetration to discover, under the homely manners of the American yeomanry, any signs of military spirit. Under this delusion, it was confidently believed, in England, that an army of five thousand men could march through the country from one end to the other. Matters were therefore carried, in the cabinet and parliament, with a high hand and an arrogant tone. At the close of the past year, the king had delivered an address to parliament, full of the most bitter denunciations against the colony of Massachusetts, and avowing a determination to suppress all attempts in favor of American liberty. The parliament concurred in these sentiments by a large majority. The more sagacious among the British statesmen, however, saw the storm coming, and made the most strenuous endeavors to check the rash and precipitate measures of the ministry. The venerable Earl of Chatham left his retirement, and again entered the house of lords, where his powerful eloquence was exerted in an attempt to dissuade his countrymen from the design of subduing the colonists by force of arms. He recommended conciliatory measures, and in particular the immediate removal of the troops from Boston. His remonstrances, however, had not the slightest effect.

Equally unavailing was the petition of congress to the king, which Dr. Franklin and others now laid before parliament, with a request to be heard in its support. The petition was rejected by a large majority. The lords and commons then passed an address to the king, declaring the people of Massachusetts rebels; and the next day a more decisive blow was struck by the ministers, in procuring the passage of an act restricting the trade of the New England colonies, and depriving them of the Newfoundland fishery.

The Bostonians, in the mean time, in spite of their suffering condition, avoided every kind of outrage. Massachusetts had successfully engaged the other colonies to make common cause with her. A new provincial congress met in February, 1775, and published a resolution, advising the people to furnish themselves with arms, and make every preparation to resist the invading armies which were expected from Britain for the destruction of the colonies. In all parts of Massachusetts the inhabitants obeyed these hints. Arms and powder were manufactured and stored in various places, military bands organized, and the proceedings in every quarter gave "dreadful note of preparation." These things did not escape the notice of General Gage. On the 26th of February, having learnt that a quantity of military stores had been collected at Salem, he despatched one hundred and forty soldiers, in a transport from the castle, to seize them. They landed at Marblehead, and took up their march for Salem. Not finding the stores there, they proceeded to Danvers, but were stopped at a draw-bridge, where a body of thirty or forty militia were drawn up. After some parley and an attempt to pass, the troops returned to Boston, without effecting their object.

But the flames of war could no longer be kept from bursting out. News arrived in Boston of the king's speech, of the resolutions adopted by parliament, and finally of the act by which the people of Massachusetts were declared rebels. The whole province flew to arms. General Gage was informed that the provincials had amassed large quantities of arms and ammunition in the towns of Worcester

and Concord. Excited by the loyalists, who had persuaded him that he would find no resistance; considering the cowardice of the patriots, and perhaps not imagining that the sword would be drawn so soon, he resolved to send a few companies to Concord, to seize the military stores. It was said, also, that he had in view, in this expedition, to get possession of the persons of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, two of the most ardent patriot chiefs, and the principal directors of the provincial congress. But to avoid causing irritation and the popular tumults which might obstruct his design, he took his measures with caution and secrecy. He ordered the grenadiers and several companies of light infantry to hold themselves in readiness to march out of the city at the first signal, pretending that it was in order to review and execute manœuvres. The Bostonians entertained suspicions, and sent to warn Hancock and Adams to be upon their guard. Gage, to proceed with more secrecy, commanded a certain number of officers, who had been made acquainted with his designs, to go, as if on a party of pleasure, and dine at Cambridge, on the road to Concord. It was on the evening of the 18th of April that these officers dispersed themselves upon the roads, to intercept the couriers that might have been despatched to give notice of the movements of the troops. Gage gave orders that no person should leave Boston; nevertheless, Doctor Warren, one of the most active patriots, had timely intimation of the scheme, and immediately despatched messengers, some of whom found the roads obstructed by the officers, but others made their way in safety to Lexington, a town on the road to Concord. The news was soon divulged; the people flocked together; alarm bells were rung; and the firing of cannon spread the agitation throughout the neighborhood. In the midst of this tumult, at eleven in the evening, a strong detachment of grenadiers and light infantry was embarked at Boston, and landed at Phipps' farm, whence they marched toward Concord.

The troops were under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Smith and Major Pitcairn, who led the vanguard.

The militia of Lexington, as the intelligence of the movement of this detachment was uncertain, had separated in the night. But, at five in the morning of the 19th, advice was received of the approach of the royal troops. The people who happened to be near, assembled to the number of about seventy,—certainly too few to entertain the design of fighting. The English appeared, and Major Pitcairn cried, in a loud voice, “Disperse, you rebels! lay down your arms and disperse!” The provincials did not obey; upon which he sprung from the ranks, discharged a pistol, and, brandishing his sword, ordered his soldiers to fire. The provincials retreated. The English continuing their fire, the former faced about to return it. The British gave three cheers, and advanced towards Concord. The inhab-



Battle of Lexington.

itants assembled and appeared disposed to act upon the defensive; but, seeing the numbers of the enemy, they fell back and posted themselves on the bridge, north of the town, intending to wait for reinforcements from the neighboring places; but the light infantry assailed them with fury, routed them, and occupied the bridge, whilst the others entered Concord, and proceeded to the execution of their orders. They spiked two pieces of twenty-four pound can-

non, destroyed their carriages and a number of wheels for the use of the artillery, threw into the river and into wells five hundred pounds of bullets, and wasted a quantity of flour deposited there by the provincials. Before the work of destruction was completed, however, the sound of distant alarm-bells, and the sight of bodies of men gathering upon the neighboring hill, admonished the British of approaching danger, and their commander, apprehensive lest his retreat should be cut off, gave orders for a retreat.

But it was now broad day, and the whole neighborhood was roused. From every quarter, people came rushing toward Concord and Lexington, with such arms as they could hastily snatch. Before they had proceeded many rods on their march homeward, scattering shots, from behind walls and fences, apprized the British that the enemy were upon them. The light infantry, who scoured the country above Concord, were obliged to retreat, and on entering the town, a hot skirmish ensued. A great number were killed on both sides. The light infantry having joined the main body of the detachment, the English retreated precipitately towards Lexington. Already the whole neighborhood had risen in arms. Before the detachment had reached Lexington, its rear guard and flanks suffered great annoyance from the provincials, who, posted behind trees, walls and fences, kept up a brisk fire, which the troops could not return. The English found themselves in a most perilous situation. General Gage, apprehensive of the event, had despatched in haste a reinforcement of sixteen companies, with some marines and two field-pieces. This body arrived very opportunely at Lexington, at the moment when the royal troops entered the town on the other side, pursued with fury by the provincial militia. It appears highly probable that, without this reinforcement, they would have been all cut to pieces or made prisoners; their strength was exhausted, as well as their ammunition. After making a considerable halt at Lexington, they renewed their march towards Boston, the number of the provincials increasing every moment, although the rear guard of the English was less molested, on account of the

two field-pieces, which repressed the impetuosity of the Americans. But the flanks of the column remained exposed to a very destructive fire, which assailed them from every sheltered spot. The royalists were also annoyed by the heat, which was excessive, and by a violent wind, which blew a thick dust in their eyes. The American scouts, adding to their natural celerity a perfect knowledge of the country, came up unexpectedly through cross roads, and galled the English severely, taking aim especially at the officers, who, perceiving it, kept much on their guard. Finally, after a march of incredible fatigue, and a loss of two hundred and seventy-three men, the English, overwhelmed with lassitude, arrived at sunset in Charlestown.



Retreat from Lexington.

The news of the battle of Lexington spread like a conflagration, and aroused the hardy sons of the country to a manful resistance. The agriculturist left his plough in the furrow, and the mechanic dropped his tools in the shop, and the great mass of the people repaired to Boston, with such arms as could be found. General Putnam, of Connecticut, was ploughing in his field, when the intelligence reached him. He immediately abandoned the plough, and, without stopping to change his clothes, set

off for Boston. Within a few days a large army was collected, under the command of Generals Ward and Putnam, and entrenched themselves on the heights around Boston. When the tidings of these events reached the south, the population were aroused to the contest with the same animated zeal which had been displayed at the north, and the alarm spread far and wide through the country.



Putnam told of the battle of Lexington.

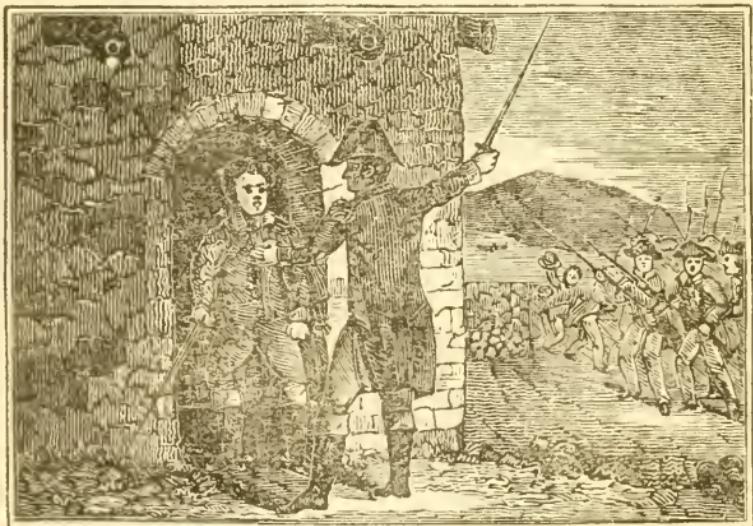
On the 28th of April, 1775, a provincial congress assembled in Massachusetts, and issued the following general circular: "We conjure you, by all that is dear, by all that is sacred, that you give all possible assistance in forming an army, in defence of the country. Our all is at stake. Death and destruction are the certain consequences of delay. Every moment is infinitely precious; an hour lost may deluge your country in blood, and entail perpetual slavery upon the few of your posterity that survive the carnage. We beg and entreat, as you will answer it to your country, to your consciences, and, above all, as you will answer it to your God, that you will hasten, by all possible means, the enlistment of men, to form an army, and send them forward to head quarters, at Cambridge, with that expedition which the vast importance and instant urgency of the affairs demand." This, as might be

expected, aroused the energies of the country, and inspired the people with the most heroic feelings. The call was promptly obeyed, and the Sons of Liberty enlisted themselves with the greatest alacrity for the defence of their rights.

The responsibilities which now rested on the fathers of the revolution were great, and their services important. They had to embody and discipline new and inexperienced troops, bring order out of confusion, and to supply both arms and ammunition, being without funds, and almost without authority to raise them. Besides this, the army was to be supplied with provisions, in the face of a formidable, well-disciplined, and well-furnished enemy. But the zeal and ability of the officers were equal to the crisis. Of some it is even recorded, that, for a succession of days and nights, they were constantly at the head of their respective guards, without a change of raiment.

At this critical epoch, Colonel Ethan Allen raised a body of Green Mountain Boys, on the New Hampshire grants, composing the state now called Vermont. With this force he undertook to surprise the garrisons of the English on lake Champlain. With two hundred and thirty men, he repaired to Castleton, where he met one hundred and seventy-two more, by concert with certain officers of the militia. In this plan, Dean, Wooster, and Parsons, with others in Connecticut, coöperated, and sentinels were posted on the different routes to Ticonderoga, to intercept intelligence of the intentions of the Americans. About this time, Colonel Benedict Arnold, who had arrived to assist in the enterprise, consented to act in concert with Colonel Allen, and no unnecessary delay prevented them from moving forward to the object which they determined to accomplish. Colonel Allen crossed the lake on the 10th of May, with a detachment of only eighty-three men, with which he attacked Fort Ticonderoga early in the morning. With this small number he rushed into the fort while the garrison was asleep. Captain Delaplace was ordered to surrender the garrison instantly, as he would save them from immediate destruction. The captain inquired by

what authority; to whom Colonel Allen replied, "In the name of the Great Jehovah, and the Continental Congress." The fort was immediately surrendered, and the soldiers paraded without arms. The prisoners consisted of four officers, forty-four privates, with several women and children, who were sent into Connecticut for security. The fruits of his victory were—one hundred and twenty iron cannon, fifty swivels, more than three tons of balls, two ten-inch mortars, and a quantity of shells, flints, gun carriages, powder, flour, pork, &c., with two brass cannon, and many other valuables. With the remainder of the party, Colonel Seth Warner, a native of Connecticut, crossed the lake, and took the fortress of Crown Point by surprise, with more than one hundred pieces of cannon. Colonel Arnold, who had embarked on the lake in a small schooner, captured an English armed vessel, and returned to Ticonderoga with his prize. Thus was a free communication with Canada secured by the command of the lake.



Capture of Ticonderoga.

While the tide of success thus waited on the American arms in the north, General Gage contemplated an attack upon the American troops at Roxbury, under the command of General Thomas. The number of troops at this place

amounted, in all, to but seven hundred militia, and they were nearly destitute of both arms and ammunition. What was wanting in force, however, was supplied by stratagem. The Americans were marched round a hill in full view of the enemy, and displayed to such advantage through the day, that the British general was completely hoaxed, and the attack was not made. Reinforcements soon arrived, and the place was saved. The success which attended the American arms in their frequent skirmishes with the foraging parties of the British, among the small islands which abound in Massachusetts Bay, gave them confidence and courage to face the English forces with confidence and success in more important undertakings.

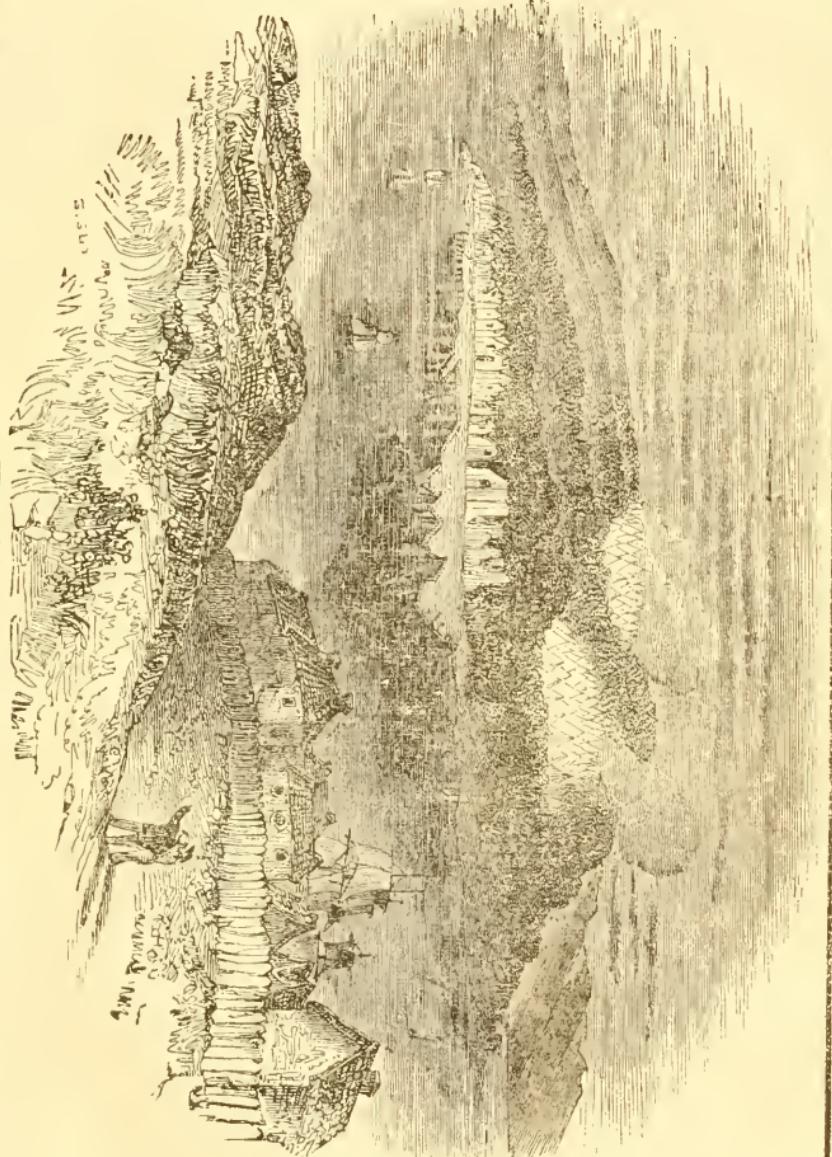
On the 25th of May, the three British generals, Howe, Clinton and Burgoyne, arrived at Boston. They were able and experienced, and to them was committed the task of putting down all opposition, and of bringing the revolted colonists to a state of absolute and unconditional submission, during the first campaign. Two days after this, the provincials, under Putnam and Warren, defeated a strong force of the enemy on the islands, and destroyed the vessel armed and stationed for their defence. The same success attended their arms on the 30th, and the British were greatly distressed by a removal of the cattle from the islands, and the communication with Boston was now closed.

On the part of the continentals, the sufferings were severe. The small pox had been communicated from Boston, and raged in the army to an alarming degree. Money was exceedingly scarce, and the whole force, including officers and soldiers, did not exceed eight thousand. Under all their discouragements, and in their undisciplined state, nothing could keep them together but the most ardent zeal for the cause of their common country. A proclamation was issued by General Gage, on the 12th of June, in the king's name, offering a general amnesty, excluding only John Hancock and Samuel Adams. Those who should refuse these gracious offers, or corre-

spond with, or aid and assist the refractory, were denounced as rebels, and threatened to be treated as such. Martial law was also declared in the province.

The proclamation was very properly considered as a public declaration of war, and the precursor of hostile operations, and the enemy was watched with the utmost vigilance. Colonel Prescott, with a detachment of one thousand men, was ordered to fortify Bunker's Hill, in Charlestown; but as the operation was in the night, he fortified a portion of it, called Breed's Hill, which was nearer to Boston. The boldness of this movement both perplexed and astonished General Gage, who saw that it jeopardized his own safety in Boston. He determined to dislodge them from this position without delay. The Americans were under command of Generals Warren and Putnam, and Colonel Prescott, of whose military skill the British had no very exalted opinion. The works on the hill were slight and incomplete, as the Americans had but a single night, and that the shortest in the year, to accomplish the labor. They consisted of a redoubt of earth on the brow of the eminence, and a breastwork down the slope consisting of a rail fence faced with hay. The British commander despised this mock fortification no less than he did the courage of his opponents, and deemed it a mere pastime to drive the Americans from their post.

About noon of the 17th of June, a body of three thousand men, the flower of the British army, under the command of General Howe, were embarked in boats and ferried across the water to the Charlestown side. To cover their approach, the town was set on fire by the British, and its great mass of wooden houses were immediately involved in a pyramid of flame. The British men-of-war and floating batteries opened a tremendous fire as the army formed in order of battle and advanced up the hill. The fire of the Americans was reserved until the English arrived to within seventy yards. A sudden and well-directed fire of musketry was then opened, which spread destruction in the ranks of the assailants, and kept them in



View of Bunker Hill.

check. The slaughter was dreadful, and the enemy fled in disorder. The chagrin and mortification of the officers was extreme, and the men were rallied to another charge. They were again repulsed, cut to pieces, and put to the rout. At this crisis General Clinton arrived from Boston with a reinforcement, and, the troops being once more rallied, renewed the charge, and the carnage became dreadful. The time was a critical one. The powder of the provincials was nearly expended, and the cartridge boxes of the dead were searched, that the fire might be continued, when their wings were outflanked by the enemy, and the lines were exposed to a raking fire from the British artillery. The cannonade increased from the British ships and batteries, and the exertions of the enemy were redoubled. The troops were pressed on by the swords and bayonets in the rear, and the points of British bayonets were met by clubbed muskets, until numbers prevailed, and the Americans were compelled to retire. Nevertheless, the provincials maintained their position with the most obstinate bravery, defending themselves with the butt-ends of their muskets after their ammunition was expended. The redoubt was attacked on three sides at once, and at length carried at the point of the bayonet. General Warren received a shot in the breast, and fell dead on the spot. The provincials, overpowered by numbers, abandoned the works, and retreated over Charlestown neck in safety, notwithstanding the shot of a man-of-war and two floating batteries, which completely commanded the isthmus.

The assailants remained masters of the field, but their loss was vastly greater than the advantage gained. One thousand and fifty-four men, or more than one third of their number, were killed or wounded, making this one of the bloodiest battles in which the British troops had yet been engaged. Pitcairn, who commanded the Lexington expedition, was among the slain, and the slaughter of the officers was out of all proportion to that of the privates. On the other hand, the effects of the battle were equal to a victory to the provincials. Their loss amounted to one

hundred and thirty-nine killed, and two hundred and fourteen wounded and missing. Though driven from their position, yet the unexpected firmness, courage, and good conduct their raw troops had exhibited, and the terrible effect of their fire upon the enemy, raised a degree of confidence among them equal to that of a positive triumph. They encamped on an eminence immediately without the peninsula of Charlestown, so that the British remained closely blockaded as before. The British troops, instructed by this severe lesson, no longer considered their antagonists as cowards. Passing from the extreme of contempt to that of respectful regard for the courage of their enemy, they made no farther endeavors to penetrate into the country; and the battle of Bunker Hill, as this action is now called, checked at once and forever the advance of the British arms in Massachusetts.



Battle of Bunker Hill.

CHAPTER IV.

Washington appointed commander-in-chief—Siege of Boston—Perfidy of General Gage—Howe assumes the command—Siege of Boston—Burning of Falmouth—Confederation of the colonies—Sufferings of the inhabitants of Boston—Bombardment of the town—The Americans occupy Dorchester Heights—Evacuation of Boston by the British—Expedition of Sir Peter Parker against South Carolina—Defeat of the British at Charleston—Declaration of Independence—British expedition to New York—Battle of Long Island—Retreat of the Americans—Capture of New York—Disasters of the Americans—Conquest of the Jerseys.

GENERAL WASHINGTON was appointed, by the congress at Philadelphia, commander-in-chief of the American armies, and immediately, on receiving his commission, he repaired to the seat of war at Boston. He fixed his head-quarters at Cambridge, three miles from Boston, and applied him-



House in Cambridge where Washington resided.

self to the business of disciplining the troops, and pressing more closely the blockade of the town, which now began

to feel the effects of the war. The royal forces in Boston continued closely blocked up by land, and, being shut out from fresh provisions and vegetables, they began to feel great distress. The provincials watched the more carefully to keep out supplies, thinking the soldiers would suffer the inhabitants to depart, for fear of a famine; or, at least, that the women and children would be suffered to remove, which was repeatedly demanded. There is some reason to imagine that Gage considered the inhabitants as necessary hostages for the security of the town and the safety of the troops. To keep women, old men and children confined as pledges for their own safety, argued that they were unwilling to fight the provincials on fair terms. It had often been asserted in England that a few regular troops would march through all America; but now, a general, with an army of the best troops in the service, was cooped up in a town, and durst not even stay in it without old men, women and children, to guard them! General Gage, at length, entered into an agreement with the town's people, that, if they would deliver up their arms, they should have liberty to go where they pleased with their property. The arms were accordingly given up; but, to their amazement and mortification, he refused to let them depart. Many, however, were suffered afterwards to quit the town at different times, but they were obliged to leave all their effects behind; so that those who had hitherto lived in affluence, were at once reduced to poverty.

General Gage returned to England, in October, 1775, and the command of the army at Boston fell to General Howe. This officer soon after issued a proclamation, by which those of the inhabitants who attempted to quit the town, without leave, were condemned to military execution. By another proclamation, such as obtained permission to leave the town, were, by severe penalties, excluded from carrying more than a small specified sum of money with them. He also required the forming of associations, by which the remaining inhabitants should offer their persons for the defence of the place. Such of them as he approved were to be armed, formed into companies, and

instructed in military exercises ; the remainder being obliged to pay their quotas in money towards the common defence.

The limited time for which the soldiers in the provincial army before Boston were enlisted, had nearly expired, and it was necessary that some measure should be taken for supplying their place. A committee of the general congress were sent to Boston to take the necessary measures, in conjunction with Washington, for keeping the army from disbanding. Of all the difficulties which the Americans encountered in their attempts towards establishing a military force, nothing was more important than the want of gunpowder ; for though they used the utmost diligence in collecting nitre, and all the other materials for the manufacture, the results of their own industry and skill were small. They had not yet opened that commerce with foreign states, which subsequently procured them a supply of military stores. The scarcity of gunpowder was so great, that it was said the troops at Bunker's Hill had not a single charge left after that short engagement ; and the deficiency in the army before Boston was at one time so great, that nothing but General Howe's ignorance of the circumstance could have saved the besiegers from being dispersed by a single attack. They left nothing undone to supply the defect, and, among other temporary expedients, had contrived to purchase, without notice or suspicion, all the powder from the European settlements on the coast of Africa.

Meantime, plundering, threatening and hostilities were constantly carried on along the American coast. The town of Falmouth, in the district of Maine, was doomed to share in these calamities. Some disorder relative to the loading of a lumber-ship, caused the British admiral to issue an order for the destruction of the town.

On the morning of the 18th of October, a cannonade was begun, and continued with little intermission through the day. About three thousand shot, besides bombs and carcasses, were thrown into the town, and the sailors landed to complete the destruction, but were repulsed with the

loss of a few men. The principal part of the town, which lay next the water, consisting of about one hundred and thirty dwelling-houses, two hundred and seventy-eight stores and warehouses, a large new church, and a handsome court-house, with the public library, were reduced to ashes. The destruction of Falmouth provoked the Americans to the highest degree, and probably pushed on the congress of Massachusetts Bay to the daring measure of granting letters of marque and reprisal, and establishing courts of admiralty, for the trial and condemnation of British ships. In this law, they declared an intention of defending the coasts and navigation of America, extending the power of capture only to such ships as should be employed in bringing supplies to the armies employed against them. From this time, they did all that was in their power to seize such ships as brought supplies to the troops.

During the course of the summer, 1775, articles of confederation and perpetual union were entered into between the several colonies which were already associated, with liberty of admission to those of Quebec, St. Johns, Nova Scotia and the two Floridas and Bermudas. They contained rules of general government, in peace and war, both with respect to foreigners and each other. These articles were drawn up by the general congress, and by them transmitted to the different colonies, for the consideration of their respective assemblies. If the articles met their approbation, they were to empower their delegates to the ensuing congress to ratify and confirm them; and from that time the union which they established was to continue firm, until, besides a redress of grievances, reparation was made for the losses sustained by Boston, for the burning of Charlestown, for the expenses of the war, and until the British were withdrawn from America.

When the autumn approached, and appearances of plenty gave the colonists ground to conjecture what might be spared out of the abundance of a plentiful harvest, it was resolved by the congress, that if the late restraining laws were not repealed within six months, from the 20th of

July, 1775, their ports from that time should be open to every state in Europe, which would admit and protect their commerce, free of all duties, and for every kind of commodity, excepting only teas and the merchandise of Great Britain and her dependencies.

By the delays and misfortunes which the transports and victuallers from England experienced, the forces in Boston were reduced to great distress. What added to the afflictions which they already suffered, was the mortification of seeing several vessels, which were laden with the necessities and comforts of life, captured by the provincials in the very entrance of the harbor, whilst the tide and wind disabled the ships of war from preventing it. The loss of most of the coal-ships was severely felt, as fuel could not be procured, and the climate rendered that article indispensable. The houses of Boston were pulled down for fuel. The inhabitants were in a most deplorable condition; detained against their will, or cut off from all intercourse with their friends, exposed to all the consequences of that contempt and aversion with which a greater part of them were regarded by the soldiers, and at the same time in want of every necessary of life. The attempts made to procure provisions were not attended with great success.

Meantime, the besieging forces at Boston waited for the hard frosts of mid-winter, in expectation of attacking the town by crossing over upon the ice. But the uncommon mildness of the season disappointed these hopes, and they were forced to remain quiet through the winter. The arrival of a copy of the king's speech, with an account of the fate of the petition from the continental congress, still farther excited the people. They burnt the king's speech publicly in the camp; and on this occasion they changed their colors from a plain red ground, which they had hitherto used, to a flag with thirteen stripes, as a symbol of the union and number of the colonies.

During this state of affairs, the American cruisers grew daily more numerous and successful against the transports and store-ships. Among a multitude of other prizes, they had the good fortune to capture one which gave a new

impulse to their military operations. This was an ordnance ship from Woolwich, which had separated from her convoy, and being herself of no force, she was taken, without defence, by a small privateer, in Boston Bay. This vessel contained several pieces of fine brass cannon, a large quantity of small arms and ammunition, and a mortar, with all manner of tools, utensils and machines necessary for camps and artillery, in the greatest abundance.

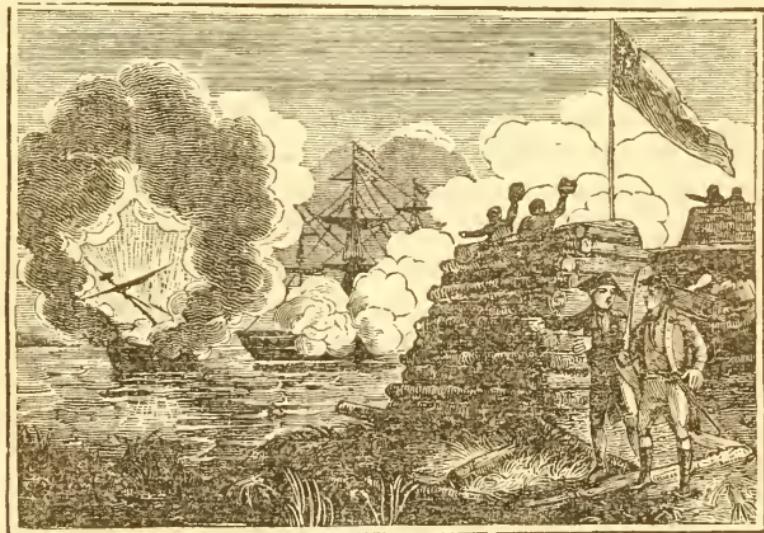
By this fortunate acquisition, the American troops became supplied with the very articles of which they had long stood in need. They delayed not a moment to avail themselves of the advantage. On the 2d of March, 1776, a battery was opened at Lechmere Point, directly opposite Boston, from which a heavy bombardment and cannonade were directed against the town with great effect. Many buildings were demolished and set on fire, and the troops and inhabitants were constantly employed in extinguishing the flames. The British commander began to feel alarmed for the safety of his army; but matters grew rapidly more threatening. Three days after, he saw, with inexpressible surprise, at the dawn of day, the ramparts of a new fortification, which had arisen during the night, on the heights of Dorchester, commanding the town and harbor on the south. The morning mist having magnified these works to a gigantic size, added much to the consternation and amazement of the British officers, who, in their accounts of the siege, affirm that this apparition recalled to their minds those tales of magic and enchantment with which eastern romances are filled. The situation of the king's troops was now very critical. Shot and shells were poured in upon them from the new works. Others were rapidly constructing on the neighboring hills, commanding the town and a considerable part of the harbor. In these circumstances, no alternative remained but to abandon the town, or dislodge the enemy and destroy the new works. General Howe adopted the latter plan. Two thousand men were embarked in transports, and fell down the harbor to the castle, with a design to land on the beach opposite, and carry the works on Dorchester heights by storm.

Every preparation was made by the Americans for the defence. Hogsheads filled with stones, and chained together, were planted on the brow of the hill, to be rolled down upon the ranks of the assailants. The British were aware of the desperate nature of their attempt. Murmurs of irresolution were heard, and exclamations that it would be "another Bunker Hill affair." In this dispirited condition of the troops, a furious storm, which happened during the night, supplied the British commander with a plausible excuse for deferring the attack. A council of war was held, and resulted in a determination to retreat from Boston. A fortnight was passed in preparations for departure, till, on the 17th of March, 1776, the besieged were quickened in their movements by a new battery erected by the Americans on Nook's Hill, at the northern point of the peninsula of Dorchester. Delay was no longer safe. By ten in the forenoon of that day, all the king's troops, together with such of the inhabitants as were attached to the royal cause, were embarked and under sail. As the rearguard went on board the ships, Washington marched into the town, where he was received in triumph by the people, with every demonstration of joy and gratitude. Several ships of war were left in the bay by the British, to protect the vessels which should arrive from England. In this they were not perfectly successful. The great extent of the bay, with its numerous creeks and islands, and the number of small ports that surround it, afforded such opportunities to the provincial armed boats and privateers, that they took a number of valuable transport ships, who were still in ignorance that the town had changed its masters.

Washington was now in possession of the capital of Massachusetts, but being ignorant of the destination of the fleet, and apprehensive of an attempt upon New York, he detached several regiments for the protection of that city, on the very day on which he took possession of Boston. The royal army were not as yet in a situation which admitted of their undertaking any important expedition. They did not exceed nine thousand effective men, and

were in some respects very ill-provided. This army, nevertheless, was three times more numerous than had been thought sufficient to conquer all America. Their repulse was a mortifying blow to the schemes of the ministry, who had given out that the sight of a few grenadiers would frighten all the colonies into a compliance with their measures. Their invincible troops had been obliged to abandon Boston, before a newly-raised militia, who were styled cowards in England.

The fleets, transports and victuallers, which had been sent from England, met with bad weather in their passage; many delays and untoward circumstances befel them, which in a great degree frustrated their designs. A squadron, under Sir Peter Parker, destined for the invasion of South Carolina, sailed from Portsmouth, about the end of the year 1775, but, suffering great delays, did not reach Carolina till May, 1776. In the beginning of June, the fleet anchored off Charleston, and made preparations for attacking the place. Two of the ships mounted fifty guns, four were frigates of twenty-eight, to which were added four more ships of smaller force and a bomb-ketch. The



Attack on Fort Moultrie.

passage of the bar was a work of difficulty and danger, especially to the two large ships, which, though lightened

of their guns, both struck on the bar several times. The land forces were commanded by Generals Clinton, Cornwallis and Vaughan.

The British troops landed on Long Island, which lies eastward of Sullivan's, being separated only by a creek, which was deemed passable at low water. The Carolinians had posted some forces, with a few pieces of cannon, near the northeast extremity of Sullivan's Island. General Lee was encamped with a considerable body of forces upon the continent to the northward of the island, with which he had a communication by a bridge of boats. Long Island is a naked, burning sand, where the troops suffered much from their exposure to the heat of the sun. Both the fleet and the army were greatly distressed through the badness of the water; that which is found upon the sea-coast of Carolina being very brackish. Nor were they in any better condition with respect to the quantity or quality of their provisions. Though the greatest despatch was necessary, on account of these inconveniences, yet such delays occurred in carrying the design into execution, that it was near the end of the month before the attack on Sullivan's Island took place. This leisure was improved by the provincials, with great diligence, for completing their works. Everything being at length settled for the attack, the bomb-ketch, covered by an armed ship, took her station on the morning of the 28th of June, and began by throwing shells at Fort Moultrie, as the fleet advanced. About eleven o'clock, four other ships brought up directly against the fort, and began a most furious and incessant cannonade. Three ships were ordered to the westward, to take their station between the island and Charleston, with a design to demolish the works of the fort, and, if possible, to interrupt the communication between the island and continent, and cut off the retreat of the garrison. This part of the design miscarried by the unskillfulness of the pilot, who entangled the frigates in the shoals, where they all stuck fast; and though two of them were got off, it was then too late to be of any service. One was burnt by the crew the next morning, to prevent her falling into the hands

of the Americans. The ships suffered excessively from the fire of the batteries, and the slaughter on board was dreadful. Scarcely was ever British valor put to so severe a trial. The battle continued till the darkness of the night compelled the assailants to desist. Sir Peter Parker, after using every effort, finding that all hopes of success were at an end, and the ebbing tide near spent, withdrew his shattered vessels, between nine and ten o'clock in the evening, after an engagement which had been supported for above ten hours with uncommon courage and resolution. One of his ships had one hundred and eleven, and another seventy-nine, killed and wounded. The frigates did not suffer so severely, for the provincials pointed their fire principally at the ships of the line.

This defeat was a most unexpected blow to the British. They had never imagined that this insignificant fort would have been able to withstand the heavy fire of their squadron for the space of an hour; though, upon trial, it was found that, after ten hours' severe cannonade, it was as far from being reduced as at the beginning. The provincials showed, on this occasion, a degree of skill and intrepidity which would have done honor to veteran troops. Both officers and men performed their duty to the amazement of their enemies, and conducted their fire with such deliberation and design, that almost every shot did execution. Colonel Moultrie, who commanded in the fort, received great and deserved praise from his countrymen.

Hitherto the colonists had maintained their struggle against the encroachments of the mother country, without abandoning the hope that pacific counsels and conciliatory measures might heal the breach between them. But as the British ministry continued to manifest the most hostile and arrogant spirit, and showed a fierce determination to reduce them by force of arms to unconditional submission, their feelings became more and more alienated, and they began to despair of any amicable settlement of their difficulties. The news that sixteen thousand German mercenary troops had been hired to make war upon them, added still more to their resentment. Ere long they began

to disown the authority of the king, and to declare, in speech and writing, that nothing remained for them but a complete and final separation from the British crown. The popular feeling soon found a correspondent expression in public bodies, and at length the continental congress, on the 4th of July, 1776, issued the DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE; thus dissolving the connection of the colonies with England, and claiming for them a rank among independent nations. This declaration was received everywhere throughout the country with the highest exultation, and the ennobling prospect of a separate national existence now animated the colonists with new courage and resolution to repel their invaders.

Washington, meantime, confident that the British would never appear again at Boston, marched his army to New York, anticipating the next attack in that quarter. He was right in his conjecture. The forces that evacuated Boston proceeded first to Halifax, to await reinforcements from England. A grand scheme of conquest was now projected by the British ministry. The execution of it was entrusted to Lord and Sir William Howe, two officers of good character and known abilities, in whom the nation reposed much confidence. A powerful army was appointed for this service. The whole force was supposed to amount to thirty-five thousand men. The British troops were supposed to be the best in the world, and their generals the most skilful. They were well provided with all sorts of provisions, warlike stores and ammunition, and were also supported by a numerous fleet. The general and admiral, beside their military power, were invested with authority as commissioners, by act of parliament, for restoring peace to the colonies, and for granting pardon to such as should deserve mercy.

While Sir William Howe waited at Halifax for reinforcements, he was pressed by the want of provisions. He at last, without waiting for his brother, Lord Howe, departed from Halifax, on the 10th of June, 1776, and arrived at Sandy Hook about the end of the month. On their passage, the fleet was joined by six transports with

Highland troops, which had been separated from their companions in their voyage. Those that were missing, with about four hundred and fifty soldiers and several officers, were taken by the American cruisers, and carried into Boston. General Howe found the entrance of New York harbor strongly fortified. Long Island, on account of its extent, did not admit of its being so strongly guarded; it was, however, in a tolerable state of defence, and had considerable encampments at the end of the island next to New York. Staten Island, being of less consequence, was neglected;—this was certainly a great oversight in the provincials.

On the 10th of July, the British landed on Staten Island. Their troops were cantoned in the villages, where they received plenty of provisions. General Howe was here met by Governor Tyron, with several other loyalists, who had taken refuge on board a British ship at Sandy Hook. These persons gave him an account of the strength of the provincials. He was also joined by about sixty men from New Jersey, who came to take up arms in the royal cause, and about two hundred militia of the island, who were embodied for the same purpose. This afforded a flattering prospect to the general, that when the army was landed and collected in force to support the loyalists, such numbers would join him as would enable him to bring the war to a speedy conclusion. The American army at New York amounted to little more than seventeen thousand men, a part of which force was encamped at Brooklyn, on Long Island. The combined forces of the British amounted to twenty-four thousand, which were landed near the Narrows, nine miles from the city, on the 2d of August. On the 17th, the British forces, under Sir Henry Clinton, Percy, and Cornwallis, attacked the American camp on Long Island, which was defended by Brigadier-General Sullivan, who was defeated, with the loss of more than a thousand men, while the loss of the British was less than four hundred. Brigadier-Generals Lord Stirling and Woodhull fell into the hands of the English. General Washington perceived with anguish what would be the

result of the battle, but he dare not draw off more troops from the city, as he would not even by that measure be able to cope with the British. On both sides, this battle was expected. On the 22d, the British effected a landing at Utrecht, near the Narrows, under cover of the ships, and every preparation was made to meet them manfully. Colonel Hand was ordered to the high ground, in order to protect the pass leading to Flatbush. Lord Cornwallis was ordered to secure this pass, if it could be done without an engagement. He halted at the village, finding that the pass was secured by the Americans. On this occasion, Washington issued the following orders:

“The enemy have now landed upon Long Island. The hour is fast approaching in which the honor and success of this army, and the safety of our bleeding country, depend. Remember, officers and soldiers, that you are freemen, fighting for the blessing of liberty; that slavery will be your portion, and that of your posterity, if you do not acquit yourselves like men. Remember how your courage has been despised and traduced by your cruel invaders, though they have found, by dear experience at Boston, Charlestown, and other places, what a few brave men can do in their own land, and in the best of causes, against hirelings and mercenaries. Be cool, be determined. Do not fire at a distance, but wait for orders from your officers.”

Preparations were now made for a pitched battle. The American camp was strengthened by six additional regiments, and all things put in readiness for an immediate attack. The direct road across the heights lay through the village of Flatbush, where the hills commenced, and near which was an important pass. General Putnam had detached part of his army to occupy the hills, and defend the passes. It appears, however, that it was not the plan of the colonists to attempt any decisive battle till they had exercised their troops in skirmishes and taught them a little military knowledge. They knew that the British troops were highly disciplined, and longed for nothing more than an opportunity to put an end to the war by a single stroke.

Their safety depended much upon speedy action. The colonists, on the other hand, were as yet raw troops; a sudden attack and a signal overthrow would have dispirited them and frustrated all their hopes. When everything was prepared for forcing the hills, General Clinton, at the head of the van of the army, with fourteen field-pieces, began, on the evening of the 26th of August, his march from Flatland. Having passed through the part of the country called the New Lots, they reached the road that crosses the hills from Bedford to Jamaica, where, wheeling to the left towards the former place, they seized a considerable pass, which the Americans had, through some unaccountable neglect, left unguarded. The main body, under Lord Percy, with ten field-pieces, followed at a moderate distance, and the way being thus successfully opened, the whole army passed the hills without opposition, and descended by the town of Bedford into the lower country, which lay between them and Putnam's lines. The engagement was begun early in the morning of the next day, by the Hessians, at Flatbush, and by General Grant, along the coast; and a warm cannonade, with a sharp fire of small arms, was eagerly supported on both sides for some hours. During this time, the king's troops gained no advantage, but were on the point of being repulsed, when the fleet made several manœuvres on their left, and attacked a battery on Red Hook. This movement embarrassed the right wing of the colonists, which was engaged with General Grant, and called off their attention totally from the left and rear, where their greatest danger lay. Those who were engaged with the Hessians were the first that perceived their danger; they accordingly retreated in large bodies and in good order, with a design to recover their camp. They were, however, attacked furiously by the king's troops, and driven back into the woods, where they were met by the Hessians, and alternately intercepted and chased by the dragoons and light infantry. In these critical circumstances, some of their regiments, though overpowered by numbers, forced their way to the lines; some kept the woods and escaped. Great numbers

were killed, and the discomfiture of the Americans at this point was decisive.

The right wing of the provincials, engaged with General Grant on the coast, were so late in knowing what was going on in other parts, that they were intercepted in their retreat by some of the British troops, who, in the morning, had not only turned the heights upon their left, but had traversed the whole extent of country in their rear. Such of them as did not flee to the woods, which were the greatest number, were obliged to throw themselves into a marsh, where many were drowned, or suffocated in the mud. A considerable number, however, made their escape to the lines, though they were much diminished in their flight by the fire of the pursuers. The loss of the Americans on this occasion was very great. Nearly a whole regiment from Maryland, consisting altogether of young men of the best families, were totally cut off.

In this situation there was no hope left but in a retreat, and even this was exceedingly difficult, under the watchful eye of an active enemy, with a powerful army, flushed with success, almost close to their works. This desperate task was, however, undertaken, and executed with great address by Washington. On the night of the 29th, the American troops were withdrawn from the camp, and, with their baggage, stores, and almost all their artillery, conveyed to the water-side, embarked, and ferried over to New York, with such silence and order, that the British, though within six hundred yards, knew nothing of the movement. The dawn of day showed them the lines abandoned, the American rearguard in their boats and out of danger. Those who are acquainted with the usual noise and confusion attending the breaking up of a camp, and the march of so many thousand men, even in open day, must acknowledge that this retreat required an extraordinary address to conduct it, and deserves the name of a master-piece in the art of war.

A fleet, consisting of upwards of three hundred sail, including transports, covered the waters of the bay, while the ships of war, hovering round the island, threatened

destruction to every part, and were continually engaged with the American batteries. Thus an almost constant cannonade was kept up for many days, and the troops, who had so lately escaped from imminent danger, had little time for repose. At length, the British having settled their plans for the attack of the city, the squadron made a movement in the North river, with a design to draw the attention of the provincials to that side of the island. Other parts were also threatened, to increase the uncertainty of the real point of attack. Covered by five ships of war upon their entrance into the river, they proceeded to Kip's Bay, about three miles north of New York, where, being less expected than in other places, the preparation for defence was not so great. The works were, notwithstanding, tolerably strong and well-manned, but the fire from the ships was so severe and well-directed, that the fortifications were deserted, and the army landed without opposition. The loss of New York was the immediate consequence.

The provincials, harassed by the fire of the men-of-war, abandoned the city on the 15th of September, with their other posts on that part of the island, and retired to the North End, where their principal strength lay. They were obliged to leave a great part of their artillery and military stores behind. They had some men killed and a few taken prisoners in the retreat. The king's troops suffered considerably, but this loss was concealed as much as possible. Many of the American regiments behaved badly on this occasion. Their late severe losses on Long Island appear to have had an unfavorable effect upon their conduct at this time. Part of the British army took possession of New York, and the rest encamped near the centre of the island, thus occupying it from shore to shore. Washington took post on the island at Kingsbridge, where he had a communication with the continent. He erected strong works on both sides of the passage. The nearest encampment of the British was on the heights of Haarlem, at the distance of about a mile and a half. Between the two armies were the strong grounds called Morris' Heights.

In this situation skirmishes frequently happened, and it was found that, by degrees, the apprehensions of the provincials began to wear away.

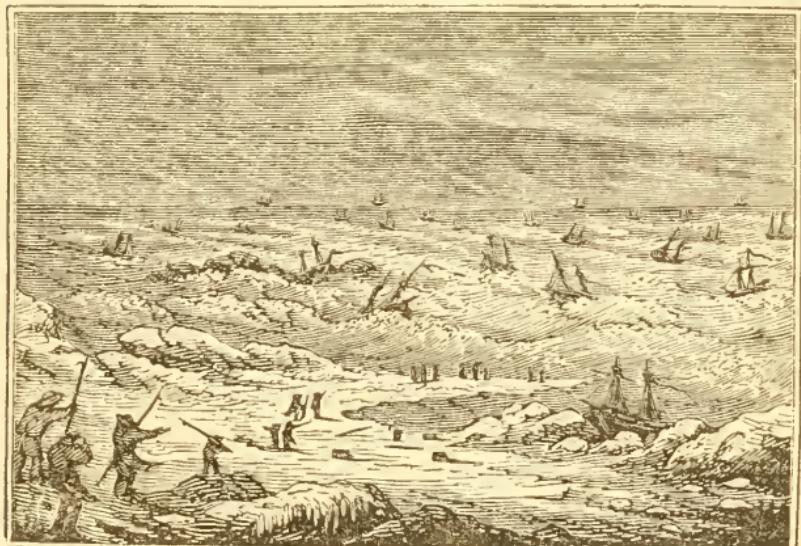
A few days after the capture of New York, a fire broke out, by which nearly a third part of the city was reduced to ashes; and unless the exertions of the troops and the sailors of the fleet had preserved the remainder, not a house would have been left standing. Some persons, who were thought to have been concerned in the cause of this calamity, were thrown into the flames by the soldiers, and burnt to death, though it could never be ascertained who were the real authors of the conflagration.

General Howe, being reinforced by a division or two of Germans, marched towards the American army encamped at White Plains. On the 28th of October, a general skirmish commenced between the advanced parties. On the 29th, the general moved in columns to the support of his van, and to bring on a general engagement. General Washington kept him at bay until the 31st, when he retired to higher ground, and left a strong rearguard to cover White Plains. The British general now abandoned the enterprise, and on the 8th of November drew off his army towards Kingsbridge. On the 15th, he sent a summons to Colonel Magraw, commanding Fort Washington, and the next day stormed the fort, and made prisoners of the whole garrison. On the 18th, Lord Cornwallis moved to the attack of Fort Lee; but General Greene drew off the garrison, abandoned the fort, and joined Washington, who, on the 22d, crossed North river, and retired to Newark, where he found himself almost abandoned by the army, and left to the mercy of a victorious pursuing enemy, with only about three thousand five hundred men to accompany him in his flight. On the 28th, Washington retired to Brunswick, and Lord Cornwallis entered Newark with his victorious army. The British pursued to Brunswick, and Washington retired to Princeton, December 1st. Cornwallis halted a week at Brunswick, agreeable to orders; and, in the mean time, Washington saw himself abandoned by the Jersey and Maryland brigades of militia, whose terms of service then expired.

On the 7th, Cornwallis advanced upon Princeton, and Washington retired to Trenton. The next day Cornwallis entered Trenton, just at the critical moment that Washington, with his remnant of an army, had crossed the Delaware, and secured the boats to prevent his passing. General Howe had joined Lord Cornwallis at Newark, and now made a stand at Princeton, and issued the proclamation of the king's commissioners, proffering pardon and peace to all such as should submit in sixty days.

Such were the distresses of the army and the country, when they saw their liberties about to expire under the pressure of an overwhelming foe, that men of the first distinction, in great numbers, in that part of the country, embraced the overture, and made their submission.

To add to the distresses of this most trying scene, General Lee, who had harassed the rear of the British army, with about three thousand men, was surprised in his quarters, on the 18th of December, and taken by the enemy. The Jerseys were thus completely overrun by the victorious armies of the British, and nothing but disaster waited upon the Americans.



CHAPTER V.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Project for the invasion of Canada by the Americans—Extraordinary march of Arnold through the woods of Maine—Expedition of Montgomery against Canada—Capture of Montreal—Siege and attack of Quebec—Death of Montgomery—Perseverance of Arnold—Evacuation of Canada by the Americans—Desperate condition of the American camp—Fortitude and resolution of Washington—Capture of the Hessians at Trenton—Affair of Princeton—Successful movements of Washington—The British expelled from the Jerseys.*

WHILE the important events related in the preceding chapters were taking place, occurrences of almost equal magnitude and importance were in progress in another part of the continent. At an early period of the struggle, congress determined to strike a blow where the enemy least expected it. A resolution was adopted to invade Canada. This design was approved by Washington, and he projected a plan for this purpose as novel as it was bold. He conjectured that there must exist a route, through the district of Maine and Lower Canada, to Quebec, through the wilderness and across the mountains, which, though unknown to the rest of the world, and frequented only by the mountaineers during summer, might serve to conduct an army from the shores of the Atlantic to those of the St. Lawrence. The greater part of this region was nothing but an immense forest, without a human inhabitant; yet the difficulty of obtaining provisions for an army in these desert solitudes was entirely overlooked in the sanguine hopes of surprising Quebec. A force of eleven hundred men was immediately organized at Cambridge, and placed under the command of Colonel Arnold, an officer of great bravery, even to rashness, and of a firmness not to be shaken. Colonel Burr, afterwards vice-president of the

United States, joined the expedition. On their arrival in Canada they were to unite themselves with the forces of General Montgomery, who was to invade the country by the way of the lakes.



Colonel Arnold.

The expedition embarked at Newburyport, in transports, for the Kennebec, on the 13th of September, 1775. So rapid were the preparations for this enterprise, that fourteen days from the time the scheme was determined on, the troops embarked at Gardiner, on the Kennebec, in two hundred batteaux, which had been built, equipped and provisioned in the interval. Arnold divided his men into three bodies. The first, composed of riflemen, under Captain Morgan, formed the vanguard, to explore the country, sound the fords, prepare the ways, and look out for portages around the falls and rapids. Wherever the stream ceased to be navigable, it became necessary for the soldiers to carry upon their backs all the lading of the boats, and finally to drag the boats themselves by land. The second detachment kept a day's march in the rear of the first, and the third followed at the same interval. The perils and difficulties of the undertaking soon became apparent. The current was rapid; the bed of the river was rocky; the falls and rapids obstructed their progress almost at every step;

the water entered the boats and damaged their provisions and ammunition. The land journey presented difficulties no less formidable. Their route lay through thick forests and over rugged mountains. The men were compelled to wade through marshes and quagmires, and to climb steep precipices, encumbered with their arms and baggage. Their provisions began to fail them before they reached the head streams of the Kennebек.

By the 16th of October, they had advanced no farther than Dead river, where, finding no prospect of a supply of provisions, Arnold directed Colonel Enos, who commanded one of the divisions, to send back all the sick and those who could not be furnished with food. Enos, taking advantage of this occasion, deserted with his whole division, and returned to the camp before Boston. The army were inflamed with indignation at the sight of the deserters, whose abandonment of their comrades might occasion the miscarriage of the whole enterprise. Enos was brought to trial before a court martial; yet he was acquitted on the plea of extreme necessity, and the acknowledged inability of his men to procure sustenance in those wild and desert regions. Courage and perseverance were expected from the soldiers, but not impossibilities.

Arnold pursued his march with the two other divisions. For thirty-two days he traversed these fearful solitudes, without seeing one human habitation or one human face. Marshes, mountains, woods and precipices were encountered at every step, and seemed to cut off all prospect of success, or rather all hope of safety. Famine now stared them in the face; they ate their dogs, their moosehide moccasins, the leather of their cartouch-boxes, and their shoes. The rains fell in torrents sometimes for three days together. One night, after they had halted at a late hour, and were endeavoring to take a little repose, they were suddenly roused by a freshet, which came rushing upon them in a torrent, and hardly allowed them time to escape before the ground on which they had lain down was overflowed. In a few days the rain was changed to snow, which fell two inches deep, and added the sufferings of

cold to those of hunger and fatigue. Ice formed on the surface of the water, in which the men were obliged to wade and drag the boats. The passage of Dead river was one of the most difficult in their whole progress. Seventeen falls obstructed their course up this stream; and near the source they were forced to make their way through a chain of small lakes, filled up with logs and other impediments. Yet, menaced with starvation and harassed by incredible fatigues, they resolutely kept onward. The courage, fortitude, and perseverance exhibited in this extraordinary march, are unsurpassed in the history of military enterprise.

At length, on the 27th of October, they found themselves on the summit of the highlands which separate the sources of the Kennebec from the streams that flow into the St. Lawrence. Every species of food, even shoes and leather breeches, had now disappeared. No house nor human being was yet in sight. Despair seemed to take possession of almost every heart; but Arnold, with a small party, made a forced march ahead, and, to their inexpressible joy, on the 30th of October, reached the habitations of some French Canadians, on the river Chaudiere. He was well received by the inhabitants, and, after recruiting his famishing party, returned with a supply of provisions for his main body. Thus rescued from starvation, a general joy reanimated the troops, and they pushed forward with alacrity. On the 9th of November, they arrived at Point Levy, on the St. Lawrence, opposite Quebec, having accomplished a march of several hundred miles through one of the most formidable wilds ever traversed by an invading army.

In the mean time, another body of New York and New England troops, to the amount of two thousand men, under Generals Schuyler and Montgomery, had been embodied for this campaign in another quarter. Batteaux and flat boats were built at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, to convey them through lake Champlain to the river Sorel, by which they were to enter Canada. Schuyler proceeded to Albany, to conclude a treaty with the Indians, which he

had been negotiating for some time; but being from illness unable to return, the whole conduct of the enterprise fell upon Montgomery. His first measure was to detach the Indians from the British service; and, being strengthened by the arrival of reinforcements and artillery, he prepared to lay siege to the fort of St. John. This fort was garrisoned by nearly all the regular troops then in Canada, and was well provided with stores, ammunition and artillery. The parties of the provincials were spread over the adjacent country, and were everywhere well received by the Canadians. While matters were in this situation, Ethan Allen, who seems to have acted rather as a volunteer than as a person obedient to any regular command, undertook to surprise Montreal. He set out upon this hazardous enterprise, at the head of a small party of provincials and Canadians, without the knowledge of the commander-in-chief. His attempt was unsuccessful. The Canadian militia, supported by a few regular troops, met the adventurer at some distance from Montreal, defeated his troops, and took him prisoner, with forty others; the rest of the party escaped into the woods. Allen and his fellow-prisoners were, by the order of Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, loaded with chains, and in that condition sent to England.

Meantime, Montgomery pressed the siege of St. John's, but Carleton was indefatigable in his endeavors to raise forces for its relief. Colonel McClean, with some Scotch and Canadians, to the number of one hundred, were posted near the junction of the Sorel with the St. Lawrence. Carleton used his utmost diligence to effect a junction with McClean, and then to march to the relief of St. John's; but his purpose was defeated by the activity of the provincials. He was attacked at Longueil, in attempting to cross the river from the island of Montreal, by a party of Americans, who easily repulsed the Canadians, and frustrated his whole plan. St. John's surrendered, and Montgomery immediately approached Montreal. A capitulation was proposed by the principal French and English inhabitants, including a sort of general treaty, which Montgomery

refused, as they were in no state of defence to entitle them to a capitulation, and were on their side unable to fulfil the conditions. The Americans took possession of Montreal upon the 13th of November, 1775.

It was now the season of the year when troops usually go into winter quarters; and, in such a climate as that of Canada, this step appeared more especially necessary. It seems a task beyond the ordinary powers of man, for troops to march in that season through a wild and uncultivated country, covered with forests, thickets and deep snows. Yet the Americans, encouraged by their good fortune, pushed on to attempts altogether beyond their strength. Their success upon the lakes seduced them into the hopes of capturing the city of Quebec; and they seem to have forgotten or despised the dangers and fatigues of an inclement season, in the prospect of finishing with glory so important an enterprise. The provincials had now the whole command of the lakes. General Prescott had been obliged to enter into a capitulation, by which the whole of the naval force, consisting of eleven armed vessels, was surrendered into their hands.

When Arnold reached Point Levy, opposite Quebec, the inhabitants were in a wavering situation; the English subjects were disaffected, and the French were not to be trusted with the defence of the city. There were no troops in the place till McClean's newly-raised regiment of emigrants arrived from the Sorel. The river alone saved Quebec from an immediate capture, as the inhabitants had taken the precaution to secure all the boats in the stream. But after some days' delay the Americans procured a number of canoes and crossed the St. Lawrence, under cover of a dark night, notwithstanding the vigilance of the ships of war in the river. The inhabitants now began to think of securing their property. The disaffected, both English and Canadians, finding the danger pressing, united for their common defence. Had the city been taken by surprise, it is highly probable that the malecontents would have joined the conquerors; but as it was now doubtful whether the attack would succeed, they considered it the wisest course

to remain true to those who had the possession. The inhabitants were embodied and armed, and the sailors landed from the ships to man the batteries. The besieged were considerably superior in numbers to the besiegers, and Arnold had no artillery. It is probable that he depended upon the disaffection of the inhabitants, but being disappointed in this, nothing remained practicable but to guard the roads and cut off supplies from the city, till Montgomery should arrive. Arnold manoeuvred for some days upon the heights near Quebec, and sent two flags to summon the inhabitants to surrender, but they were fired at, and no message was admitted; upon which he withdrew his troops into close quarters.

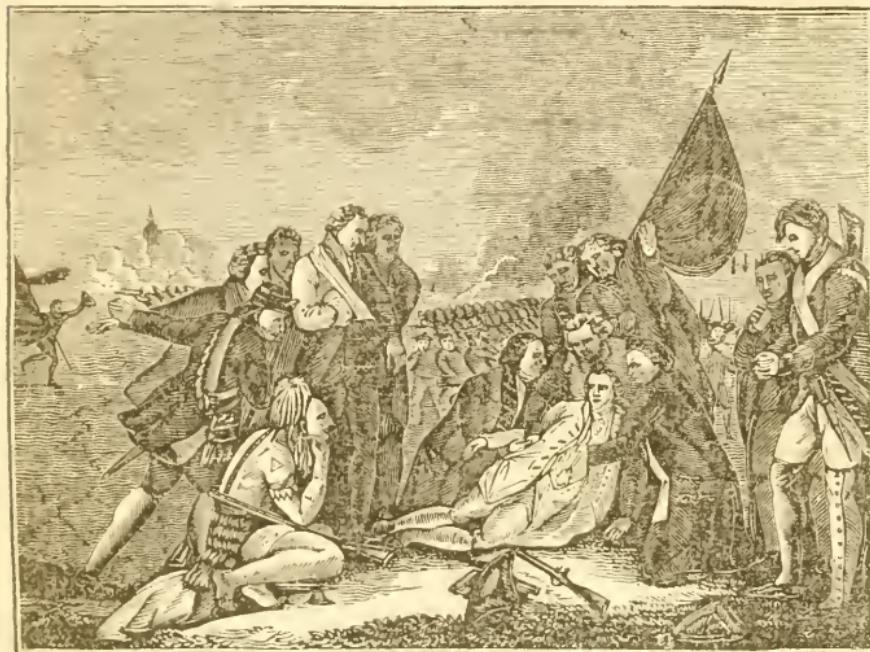
During these proceedings, Montgomery had received large supplies for his army at Montreal, and was advancing upon Quebec. Yet he found his progress beset with great difficulties. His army was composed wholly of raw soldiers, transported suddenly from the plough to the field, unversed to discipline, and entirely deficient in military skill. He left some troops at Montreal and other posts, and sent detachments into different parts of the province, to encourage the Canadians, and forward supplies of provisions. With the remainder he pushed on to join Arnold. His march lay over bad roads; the first snows of winter had fallen, and the weather was severe. The troops suffered intense hardships, which they encountered with great resolution.

Early in December, Montgomery effected a junction with Arnold, at Point aux Trembles, and proceeded to visit Quebec. He wrote a letter to the governor, magnifying his own strength, commenting on the weakness of the garrison, the impossibility of relief, and recommending an immediate surrender. The flag which carried this letter was fired upon, as well as every other which was sent; so that all communication was cut off between the besiegers and the inhabitants. It was a hopeless attempt in Montgomery to invest a fortified place with a number of troops not superior to those who defended it. His only prospect of success seems to have depended upon the effect which his warlike

preparations and the violence of his attack might have produced upon the inhabitants, who, being hastily embodied, might be struck with panic; or he might have hoped, in case his first attack should miscarry, to weary out the garrison with continual alarms. He accordingly commenced a bombardment with five small mortars, which continued for some days; but his metal was too light to produce any considerable effect against the formidable walls of Quebec. Meanwhile, the snow lay deep upon the ground, and such was the severity of the weather, that human strength seemed incapable of withstanding it in the open field. The New York troops felt these sufferings most keenly, and did not show so much steadiness and resolution as the hardy New Englanders, who had traversed the wilderness with Arnold. These men exhibited amazing constancy and intrepidity.

Montgomery found at last that some decisive blow must immediately be struck, and resolved to storm the place. On the 31st of December, under cover of a violent storm of snow, he disposed his little army into four divisions, of which two made false attacks against the upper town, whilst Montgomery and Arnold conducted the real assault at the other extremity of the place. By this means the alarm was excited in both towns, and might have disconcerted the most experienced troops. From the side of the river St. Lawrence, and round to the Basin, every part seemed equally threatened. Montgomery, at the head of the New York troops, advanced against the lower town, under Cape Diamond; but, in consequence of some difficulties which had retarded his approach, the signal for engaging had been given, and the garrison alarmed before he could reach the spot. He, notwithstanding, pressed on in a narrow file, in a straitened path, having a precipice down to the river on one side, and a high rock hanging over him on the other. Having seized and passed the first barrier, accompanied by a few of his bravest men, he marched boldly to attack the second. This was much stronger than the first, and was defended by a battery of cannon loaded with grape-shot. The troops, however,

rushed with impetuosity to the attack. Montgomery was killed at the first assault. His aid-de-camp fell at his side, with most of the officers and soldiers near him. The attempt was at once foiled by this disaster, and the remainder of the troops instantly retreated.



Death of Montgomery.

In the mean time, Arnold was not idle in his quarter. With an intrepidity that would have done honor to veteran troops, his division attacked that part of the town called the Saut, at Matelot, and having penetrated through St. Roques, they stormed a strong battery, which they carried after an hour's sharp engagement. Here Arnold was wounded, his leg being shattered by a bullet, and his men were obliged to carry him back to the camp; but these troops did not retreat hastily upon the departure of the commander, like the New York detachment. Arnold's place was supplied by other officers, who, with no less intrepidity, continued the attack. They were as yet ignorant of Montgomery's death, and were so far from being dejected by their own loss, that they pushed on with greater vigor, and made themselves masters of another battery.

Had all the provincial troops on this occasion been equal to those of New England, notwithstanding the misfortunes they sustained by the loss of their general officers, they would doubtless have taken the city.

On the retreat of Montgomery's division, the garrison had time to turn their whole attention to Arnold. The situation of the assailants was now such that, in attempting a retreat, they were obliged to pass a considerable distance within fifty yards of the walls, exposed to the whole fire of the garrison. A strong detachment, with several field-pieces, issued through a gate which commanded that passage, and attacked them furiously in the rear, while they were already engaged with the troops which poured upon them in every other quarter. In these desperate circumstances, without a possibility of escape, attacked on all sides, and under every disadvantage of ground as well as numbers, they obstinately defended themselves for three hours, and at last surrendered.

After the unsuccessful attack of Quebec, the besiegers immediately quitted their camp, and retired three miles from the city, where they strengthened their quarters as well as they were able, being apprehensive of an assault from the garrison; but the one army was as unfit for pursuing, as the other was to sustain a severe attack. The governor wisely contented himself with the unexpected advantage he had obtained, without hazarding the fate of the province by a rash enterprise. Quebec was out of danger, and the supplies that were expected would not fail to relieve the whole province. Arnold, who was now commander-in-chief, saw the perils of his situation. The weather continued uncommonly severe, and the hope of assistance was distant. Notwithstanding, the provincials bore all with patience and resolution.

Arnold, who had hitherto displayed uncommon abilities in his march into Canada, discovered on this occasion the vigor of a determined mind, and a genius full of resources. Wounded and defeated, he put his troops in such a condition as to keep them still formidable; and, instead of appearing as one who had met with a repulse, he continued

to threaten the city, by turning the siege into a blockade, and effectually obstructed the arrival of supplies of provisions and necessaries for the town. He despatched an express to General Wooster, who was at Montreal, to bring succors and take upon him the command; but this could not immediately be done. It appears, from the whole of his operations, that Carleton considered it a dangerous expedient to attack Arnold in the field, though he had nearly double the number of his troops; and that, had it been in the power of General Wooster to send a suitable reinforcement, the fate of Quebec would still have been doubtful. Had not Arnold been wounded, notwithstanding the death of Montgomery, it is not improbable that Quebec would have been taken that evening.

The American forces, after having blockaded Quebec for five months, found it impossible to reduce the city. The British received reinforcements in the spring, which augmented the number of their troops to thirteen thousand men. The small-pox, together with the hardships of the season, had reduced the numbers of the Americans so low that it was found necessary to withdraw from Canada. They accordingly retreated from the province by the way of lake Champlain, and by the end of June, 1776, Canada was completely evacuated by the American armies. Thus nothing but defeats and calamities crowned the efforts of the Americans.

The British, having thus expelled the continental forces from the Jerseys and Canada, flattered themselves that the contest was now at an end. They had the most plausible reasons for such a belief. Their enemies were routed, dispersed, and obliged to save themselves by flight. The last feeble remnant of an American army had retreated across the Delaware, amid the storms of winter, tracking the frozen soil with the blood from their naked feet. All hope for the cause of the revolution seemed utterly extravagant and chimerical. But nothing could subdue the soul or shake the firmness of Washington. The destinies of his country had been committed to his hands, and he resolved to fight as long as an arm was left him to lift the sword.

“Sooner than submit,” exclaimed he, “we will be driven into the wilderness,—across the Mississippi,—across the whole continent of America, into the Pacific Ocean!” With this brave resolution, he still made a stand on the western bank of the Delaware. The British did not pursue him beyond that river, and the American troops gained a breathing time.

The overweening confidence of the enemy soon threw them off their guard, and they took no great precautions against a foe whom they imagined they had disabled forever. Washington, ever active and vigilant, discovered that General Howe had fallen into such security that he had extended the wings of his army from Trenton down the river to Burlington, for the purpose of lodging his troops more comfortably, thus offering a number of separate points of attack to the Americans. Knowing the weakness of Washington’s forces, they kept a negligent guard, which did not fail to come to the knowledge of Washington, who instantly planned a scheme to fall upon them by surprise. A body of fifteen hundred British grenadiers and Hessians was stationed at Trenton, on the Delaware, under the command of Colonel Ralle. The night of Christmas was appointed by Washington for an attack upon this post. Boats were prepared at a convenient spot, and the troops, in three columns, marched in order and silence toward the Delaware. The officers exhorted the soldiers to be firm and valiant, and to wash out the stain of the defeats of Long Island, New York and the Jerseys. They represented to them that this night was to decide the cause of liberty and the fate of the country. The troops were animated with extreme ardor, and demanded to be led onward.

In the dusk of the evening they reached the banks of the river. Washington hoped that the passage of the troops with their artillery might be effected before midnight, so as to enable them to reach Trenton by daybreak. But the cold was so intense, and the river so much obstructed by floating ice, that it was four in the morning before the artillery could be landed. All the troops having

crossed, preparations were made for the attack. The first corps was parted in two divisions, one of which, turning to the right, marched towards Trenton by the river road. The other, led by Washington in person, took the upper or Pennington road. The distance by the roads being equal, it was supposed the two columns might arrive simultaneously. The troops used all their efforts to arrive before day, but a thick fog and a misty sleet, which made the road slippery, retarded their march. The two divisions reached Trenton at eight in the morning. So much vigilance and secrecy had been observed in making preparations for this expedition, that, notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the enemy had no knowledge or suspicion of the impending attack.



Washington crossing the Delaware.

The first intimation the royal commander had of the approach of an enemy was in the attack of his outposts, which the Americans drove in at the first assault. Ralle despatched a regiment to their relief, to hold the assailants in check, and gain time for the rest of his forces to arrange themselves. But the defeated troops involved this body in

disorder, and both fell back tumultuously upon Trenton. He then drew out his whole body of Hessians, and advanced to meet the Americans in the open field. At the first onset, Ralle fell mortally wounded, and the Americans charging his line with great fury, the Hessians took to flight, leaving behind them six pieces of artillery. They attempted to escape by the Princeton road, but Washington ordered a strong force to cut off their retreat. The Hessians, surrounded on every side, were compelled to lay down their arms and surrender at discretion. Some few, chiefly cavalry and light infantry, in all not exceeding five hundred men, effected their escape on the lower road to Bordentown. Another detachment of Hessians, who were out upon a foraging excursion at some distance from the camp, learning the disaster of their countrymen, retreated precipitately to Princeton.

By this brilliant and successful stroke, Washington captured above a thousand prisoners, with the loss of only two men killed, and two or three others who perished by cold. The Hessians had thirty or forty killed. Washington immediately re-crossed the Delaware with his prisoners and the captured artillery. Strong bodies of the enemy were quartered in the neighborhood, and his own force were unable to cope with the numbers they might assemble in a few hours. The news of the success at Trenton was quickly propagated through the country, and had a powerful and instantaneous effect in reviving the spirits, courage and hopes of the people, which had before sunk to the lowest point of depression. Washington caused the prisoners to be marched, with a sort of triumphal pomp, through the streets of Philadelphia, followed by their arms and banners. The Hessians, being a people with whom the Americans were unacquainted, had been objects of great terror throughout the land, and the most extravagant and terrific stories were circulated of their courage and ferocity. The spectacle of a thousand of these formidable warriors led captive by the American militia, at once dispelled the illusion, and inspired the colonists with a new and exciting confidence.

The British, on the other hand, were equally astounded at the sudden disaster which had fallen upon them. They imagined their enemy vanquished, dispirited, and everywhere fleeing before them. They were unable to conceive how troops of such high renown had been compelled to lay down their arms before a body of raw militia, with wretched equipments and no discipline. Their whole army throughout the Jerseys was instantly in motion. Colonel Donop, who occupied Bordentown with a strong body of Hessians, immediately abandoned his post, and retreated precipitately to join General Leslie, at Princeton. General Grant, who, with the main body of the army, occupied New Brunswick, immediately advanced to the same place. Lord Cornwallis,—who was at New York, on the point of embarking for England, in the belief that the war was finished,—returned with the utmost expedition to the army. The Americans, on all sides, ran to arms, and, in a few days, the forces of Washington were so much augmented by militia and volunteers, that he judged himself in a condition to strike another blow at the enemy. Accordingly, he crossed the Delaware, and took post at Trenton.

Cornwallis, with a strong British force, was then encamped at Princeton. On the news of Washington's movement, he put his troops in motion on the 2d of January, 1777, to meet his antagonist. The British advanced corps reached Trenton about four the next morning. Their rearguard was posted at Maidenhead, a village half-way between Trenton and Princeton. Other bodies were on their march from New Brunswick to join Cornwallis, and Washington, finding so strong a force close upon him, took a strong position behind Assumpink Creek, close to Trenton, having secured the bridge. The British came up and attempted to pass the stream at various points, but were repulsed by the Americans. A heavy cannonade was kept up till night, but Washington maintained his post. Cornwallis waited for reinforcements, intending to advance to the assault the next day. Washington was now in a critical position. The strength of the enemy rendered it highly perilous to meet him in full force. To recross the Dela-

ware was a most hazardous movement, in the face of the British army and with the river more than ever obstructed by drift-ice. The imminent danger of the American army aroused the genius of Washington, and led him to a resolution which crowned the campaign with the most important success for the American arms. He resolved to abandon, at once, the banks of the Delaware, and carry the war into the heart of New Jersey.

A council of war approved the plan, and dispositions were instantly made for carrying it into effect. The baggage was sent down the river to Burlington; the weather, which had been for two days moist, warm and foggy, suddenly changed by a cold northwest wind, the ground froze hard and rendered the roads passable. At one o'clock in the morning of the 10th, the enemy's camp appearing perfectly quiet, the Americans kindled a long line of fires in front of their camp, to deceive the enemy into the belief that they were suffering from the sudden change of weather. Then, leaving guards at the bridge and fords, they marched off with great promptitude and silence. Taking a circuitous route, in order to avoid the British post at Maidenhead, they directed their course upon Princeton, and, at break of day, fell suddenly upon the place. The British defended themselves so vigorously that the American militia were repulsed, and General Mercer, in attempting to rally them, was mortally wounded. Washington, seeing his vanguard put to the rout, and perfectly aware that the loss of the day would involve the ruin of his army, immediately advanced with a body of his best troops, and restored the fortune of the day. The British were everywhere driven off the field. They lost one hundred men killed, and three hundred taken prisoners. After the battle, the Americans took possession of Princeton.

Nothing could surpass the astonishment of Cornwallis, when, at broad day the next morning, the American camp was discovered empty. The cannonade at Princeton had been heard at his quarters, but the British, not dreaming of an enemy in that direction, imagined it to be thunder, although it was then the depth of winter. Finding him-

self out-generalled by this bold and masterly manœuvre, and fearing for the safety of his magazines at Brunswick, he immediately decamped for that place. At Princeton, he again encountered the American army. Washington, whose policy it was to avoid a pitched battle with a force so superior, drew off his troops skilfully towards the mountains in the northern part of Jersey, breaking down the bridges in his rear. Cornwallis, after marching and counter-marching, found it impossible to gain any advantage over his enemy, and fell back upon Brunswick, where the alarm, occasioned by Washington's bold movements, had been so great, that the troops had begun to remove the baggage and stores.

Washington, having recruited his little army, soon recommenced offensive operations, and scoured the whole country as far as Raritan river. He then crossed this stream, and, penetrating into the county of Essex, made himself master of Newark, Elizabethtown and Woodbridge; so that he commanded all the Jersey coast in front of Staten Island. He selected his positions with so much judgment, and fortified them with such a degree of skill, that the enemy were unable to drive him from a single post. Thus, in a few months, was the face of things entirely changed. The British army, after having victoriously overrun the whole of the Jerseys quite to the Delaware, and caused even Philadelphia to tremble for its own safety, found itself expelled from almost every part of the territory, and cooped up in the two posts of New Brunswick and Amboy. And this had been accomplished by an army reduced to extremity, but which, under the guidance of a skilful and indefatigable leader, had obliged a victorious and powerful enemy to abandon all thoughts of offensive war, in order to protect himself.

If the Americans were astonished at these unexpected exploits of their little army, the surprise and admiration on the other side of the Atlantic were no less striking. The nations of Europe saw, in the leader of the American army, a chief, whose military talents, courage and perseverance placed him in a rank with the most celebrated

commanders of antiquity. The name of Washington at once acquired a brilliant reputation ; it was in the mouths of all people, and was celebrated by the pens of the most eminent writers. Military men studied his campaigns, and pronounced him the American Fabius.



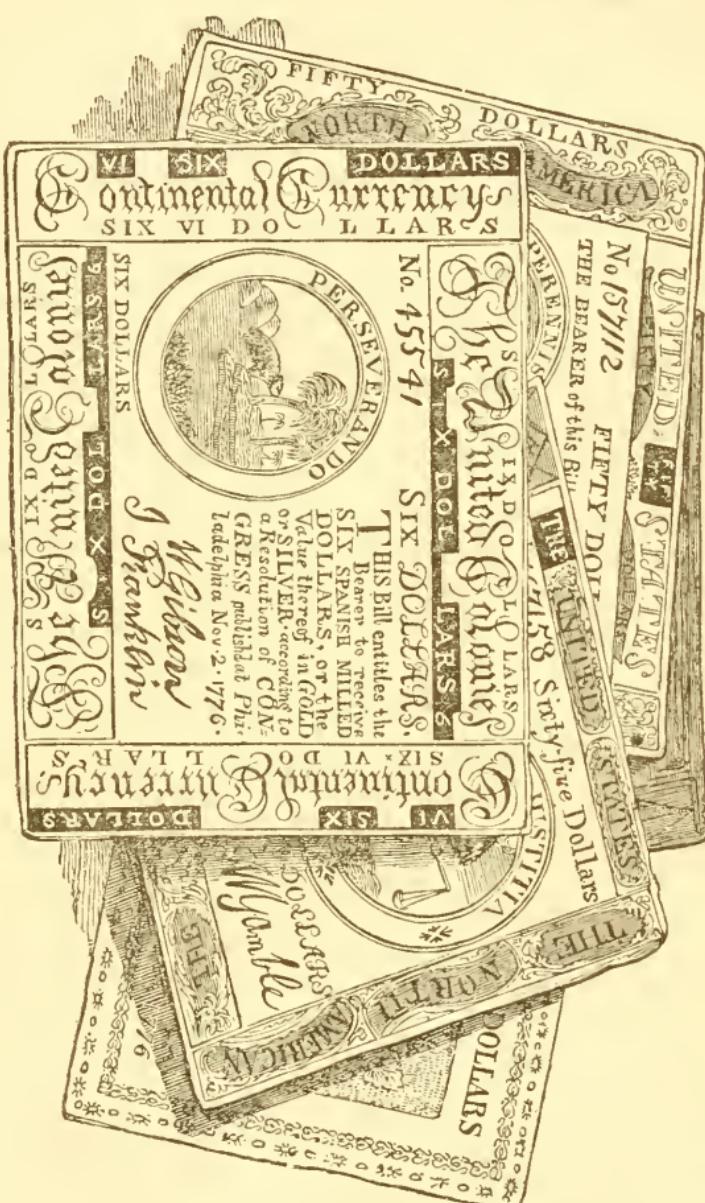
General Putnam.

CHAPTER VI.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Labor of congress—Continental currency—Ravages committed by the British—Tryon's expedition to Connecticut—Adventure of Putnam—Campaign in the Jerseys—Expedition of the British against Philadelphia—Battle of Brandywine—Capture of Philadelphia—Battle of Germantown—The army at Valley Forge—Anecdote of Lydia Darrah—Campaign in the north—Burgoyne's expedition—Capture of Ticonderoga—Siege of Fort Stanwix—Defeat of Herkimer—Stratagem of the Americans—Murder of Miss M'Crea—Burgoyne's advance—Battle of Bennington—Gates commander of the northern army—Battle of Stillwater—Retreat of Burgoyne to Saratoga—Surrender of Burgoyne.*

CONGRESS, in the mean time, was occupied in the difficult task of giving harmony and united action to the movement and feelings of the different communities which composed the American confederation. The governments of the thirteen colonies remained distinct and independent, and the authority of congress rested only on a voluntary compliance on the part of the several colonial governments. It was the business of congress to apportion the quotas of troops to be raised in each colony, to solicit supplies, to settle plans of campaign, and to negotiate with foreign governments.

But, above all, it was important to raise funds. No army could be maintained without money, and a revolutionary government in the very outset of its career could not hope to obtain credit with the capitalists of Europe. Congress determined to try what could be done with the people on the strength of their own credit. A scheme was projected to emit bills in the name of the colonies, which should pass for money. Whether any individuals among those who devised or sanctioned this scheme, had any precise notion of the extent to which it was possible to be carried out,



Continental money.

does not appear; but it proved, in the end, to be the boldest and most gigantic scheme of finance that was ever conceived. On the 22d of June, 1775, congress passed a resolve "that a sum not exceeding two millions of Spanish milled dollars be emitted by the congress, in bills of credit, for the defence of America, and that the twelve confederated colonies be pledged for the redemption of the bills." This resolution passed unanimously; the dangers of the country were too urgent to allow time to be wasted in minor scruples. The prospects of the "continental currency," as it was called, were very slender from the beginning. The country possessed no revenue or means of any sort for the redemption of the bills. Yet the patriotism of the people gave them a welcome reception, and the paper dollars passed current. In the sequel, this led to the most remarkable consequences, which we shall describe in the proper place.

During the year 1777, the enemy wantonly destroyed the New York water works, an elegant public library at Trenton, and the grand orrery which was placed in the college at Princeton. These acts, added to the shameful and horrible atrocities committed upon the females in New Jersey, called out the following speech of Governor Livingston, to the general assembly of New Jersey.

"They have plundered friends and foes; such as were capable of division, they have divided; such as were not, they have destroyed; they have warred on decrepit old age and defenceless youth; they have committed hostilities against professors of literature and the ministers of religion, against public records and private monuments. They have butchered the wounded, asking for quarters; mangled the dead, weltering in their blood; refused the dead the rites of sepulture; suffered prisoners to perish for want of sustenance; insulted the persons of females, disfigured private dwellings of taste and elegance, and profaned edifices dedicated to Almighty God."

In April, 1777, General Howe detached Governor Tryon, with the command of a major-general of provincials, at the head of about two thousand men, to destroy the American

stores at Danbury, in Connecticut. Tryon executed this commission, and destroyed one thousand eight hundred barrels of beef, two thousand bushels of wheat, eight hundred barrels of flour, one thousand seven hundred tents, one hundred hogsheads of rum, &c., with the loss of about a hundred men, killed, wounded, and taken, of the Americans. But this expedition cost the British a severe loss. Three generals were in the neighborhood, Wooster, Arnold, and Sullivan. About six hundred militia were collected in great haste, and followed in pursuit about two miles, during a heavy rain. The next morning the troops were divided. Wooster fell in the rear of the enemy, while Arnold was posted at Ridgefield, in their front. Wooster attacked the enemy, and was mortally wounded in the contest. The troops had to retreat. Arnold gave them a severe reception at Ridgefield, and was repulsed, but renewed the attack during the next day. The yeomanry of the country through which they passed towards the sound, constantly annoyed them, and they made a precipitate retreat to their ships, which conveyed them to New York. They lost, in killed, wounded, and missing, about one hundred and seventy; while the loss of the Americans did not exceed one hundred. General Wooster lingered until the 2d of May, and expired, in his seventieth year. A monument was voted to his memory by congress, and a horse, splendidly caparisoned, was presented to Arnold, as a token of respect for his intrepidity and good conduct.

During the above expedition, General Putnam, who had been stationed with a respectable force at Reading, and was then on a visit to his outpost, at Horse-Neck, was attacked by Tryon, with one thousand five hundred men. Putnam had only a picket of one hundred and fifty men, and two field-pieces, without horses or drag-ropes. He, however, placed his cannon on the high ground near the meeting-house, and continued to pour in upon the advancing foe, until the enemy's horse appeared upon a charge. The general now hastily ordered his men to retreat to a neighboring swamp, inaccessible to horse, while he himself put spurs to his steed, and plunged down the precipice at the

church. This is so steep as to have artificial stairs, composed of nearly *one hundred stone steps*, for the accommodation of worshippers ascending to the sanctuary. On the arrival of the dragoons at the brow of the hill, they paused, thinking it too dangerous to follow the steps of the adventurous hero. Before any could go round the hill and descend, Putnam had escaped, uninjured by the many balls which were fired at him in his descent: but one touched him, and that only passed through his hat. He proceeded to Stamford, where, having strengthened his picket with some militia, he boldly faced about and pursued Governor Tryon on his return.



Putnam's escape.

Early in 1777, Washington found himself at the head of a respectable army, amounting to above seven thousand men. The British were much superior, but Washington, by judiciously selecting strong points of defence, contrived to frustrate every attempt of his enemy to penetrate again into the Jerseys. Sir William Howe took the field, at the head of a very strong force, and, by marching and counter-marching, through the months of June and July, made every possible manœuvre to bring his antagonist to battle; but Washington foiled all his endeavors so successfully that Howe gave up his design, and determined to make an

attempt upon Philadelphia by sailing up Delaware Bay. The British army was therefore embarked, and in the beginning of August arrived at the Capes of Delaware. Here, for some unknown cause, the British commander altered his plan, and the squadron put to sea again, sailed up the Chesapeake, and landed the troops in Maryland. Washington immediately broke up his camp before New York, and advanced southward to meet the British.

From the eastern shores of the Chesapeake, the British army moved towards Philadelphia on the 3d of September. Washington had crossed the Delaware, determined to risk a battle in defence of the city. His army consisted of about eight thousand effective men. On the 11th of September, the two armies met at Brandywine Creek, near the Delaware. The British marched to the attack in two columns, led by General Knyphausen and Lord Cornwallis. Another column attacked the right wing of the Americans. Washington, deceived by false intelligence, delayed to make the proper dispositions for repelling the assault of Cornwallis. The right flank of the Americans was turned, and the troops compelled to retreat. The result was a defeat of the Americans, with the loss of twelve hundred killed and wounded; among the latter were La Fayette and General Woodford. The loss of the British was not above half that of the Americans. After this victory the British continued to advance, and gained possession of all the roads leading to Philadelphia. Many partial actions took place, but it was found impossible to defend the city. Sir William Howe entered Philadelphia in triumph on the 26th September, 1777. Congress retired to Lancaster, and afterwards to Yorktown.

Just before this, the Marquis de La Fayette, a young French nobleman, arrived in the United States, and tendered his services to congress, and he received a commission as brigadier-general in the service. He joined the army, and served at his own expense, and soon became the companion and the friend of Washington. His talents as a soldier were first displayed at Chad's Ford, where he received a wound in the leg, the effects of which he carried to his

grave. The Count Pulaski, a Polish gentleman, also distinguished himself in the American army, and was honored with the commission of major-general.



La Fayette.

Most of the British army was cantoned in Germantown. Washington, having received reinforcements, attacked this place on the 4th of October. He drove the British into the village, but the latter took possession of a strong stone house, from which they could not be dislodged. The morning was foggy, and this embarrassed the movements of the Americans. Nearly one half their troops were obliged to remain inactive. After a severe conflict, the assailants found it necessary to retire. The retreat was performed in haste, and Lord Cornwallis, with the British light horse, pursued the Americans for some miles. The loss of the British was about five hundred; that of the Americans, one thousand. Soon after the battle, the British retreated from Germantown.

The approach to Philadelphia from the sea was strongly guarded by forts on the Delaware, but the British were aware that without the command of the river the posses-

sion of the city would be of little value. Accordingly, early in October, a force of two thousand men, under Count Donop, attacked the fort at Red Bank, which was garrisoned by four hundred men, under Colonel Greene. The Americans defended the place with such bravery that they compelled the assailants to retire, with the loss of four hundred men, including their commander. The British also attacked Fort Mifflin, with no better success, losing two ships, one of them of sixty-four guns, which was burnt. In spite of these repulses, the British renewed their attempts, and brought so strong a force to the attack, that it was found necessary to evacuate the forts on the Delaware in November. Some of the American armed vessels escaped up the river, but many of them were taken or burnt.

Various military movements took place during the remainder of the season, but none of them produced any decisive result. About the middle of December, Washington's army went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, about sixteen miles from Philadelphia. Here they built huts in the midst of the woods, and passed the winter amid continual suffering and privation. Many of them were without blankets and almost destitute of clothes. Provisions, too, were scarce. Yet neither the sufferings of hunger nor cold could shake their constancy to the cause of their country. They submitted to all without murmurs or insubordination.

When the British army held possession of Philadelphia, in 1777, General Howe's head quarters were in Second street, the fourth door below Spruce, in a house before occupied by General Cadwallader. Directly opposite, resided William and Lydia Darrah, members of the society of Friends. A superior officer of the British army, believed to be the adjutant-general, fixed upon one of their chambers, a back room, for private conference; and two of them frequently met there, with fire and candles, in close consultation. About the 2d of December, the adjutant-general told Lydia that he would be in the room at 7 o'clock, and remain late; and they wished the family to retire early to bed; adding,

that when they were going away they would call her to let them out and extinguish their fire and candles. She accordingly sent all the family to bed; but, as the officer had been so particular, her curiosity was excited. She took off her shoes and put her ear to the key-hole of the conclave, and overheard an order read for all the British troops to march out late in the evening of the fourth, and attack General Washington's army, then encamped at White Marsh. On hearing this, she returned to her chamber, and lay down. Soon after, the officer knocked at the door, but she rose only at the third summons, having feigned herself asleep. Her mind was so much agitated, that, from this moment, she could neither eat nor sleep, supposing it to be in her power to save the lives of thousands of her countrymen, but not knowing how she was to convey the information to General Washington, not daring to confide in her husband. She quickly determined to make her way as soon as possible to the American outposts. She informed her family, that, as she was in want of flour, she would go to Frankford for some; her husband insisted that she



Lydia Darrah communicating the intended attack upon Washington's army.

should take the servant maid with her, but, to his surprise, she positively refused. She got across to General Howe,

and solicited, what he readily granted, to pass through the British troops on the lines. Leaving her bag at the mill, she hastened toward the American lines, and encountered on her way an American lieutenant-colonel (Craige) of the light-horse, who, with some of his men, was on the look-out for information. He knew her, and inquired where she was going. She answered, in quest of her son, an officer in the American army, and prayed the colonel to alight and walk with her. He did so, ordering his troops to keep in sight. To him she disclosed her secret, after having obtained from him a solemn promise never to betray her individually, as her life might be at stake with the British.

He conducted her to a house near at hand, directed something for her to eat, and hastened to head quarters, when he made General Washington acquainted with what he had heard. Washington made, of course, all preparation for baffling the meditated surprise. Lydia returned home with her flour; sat up alone to watch the movements of the British troops; heard their footsteps; but when they returned in a few days after, did not dare to ask a question, though solicitous to learn the event. The next evening, the adjtntant-general came in, and requested her to walk up to his room, as he wished to put some questions. She followed him in terror; and when he locked the door and begged her, with an air of mystery, to be seated, she was sure that she was either suspected or had been betrayed. He inquired earnestly whether any of her family were up the last night he and the other officer met. She told him that they all retired at eight o'clock. He observed, “I know *you* were asleep, for I knocked at your chamber door three times before you heard me. I am at a loss to imagine who gave General Washington information of our intended attack, unless the walls of the house could speak. When we arrived near White Marsh, we found all their cannon mounted, and the troops prepared to receive us, and we have marched back like a parcel of fools.”

In the month of December, 1777, the troops at Valley Forge were employed in erecting log huts for winter quarters, when about one half of the men were destitute of

shoes, stockings, and other necessary articles of clothing; some thousands were without blankets, and were obliged to warm themselves by fires all night after the fatigues of the day. At one time nearly three thousand were unfit for duty, from the want of clothing, and it was not uncommon to trace their march, over ice and frozen ground, by the blood from their naked feet. They were often allowed only half allowance for several weeks in succession. It was with difficulty that men could be found in a condition fit for camp duty. Under these unexampled sufferings, the soldiers exercised a degree of patience and fortitude, which has no equal, and reflects the highest honor on them. The army was not without consolation; the commander-in-chief manifested a fatherly concern for their sufferings, and made every exertion in his power to remedy the evil. Being authorized by congress, he reluctantly resorted to the unpopular expedient of taking provisions from the inhabitants by force, and thus procured a small supply for immediate necessity. This was the unhappy condition of the army, on whom Washington had to rely for the defence of everything held most dear by the Americans, and this too while situated within sixteen miles of a powerful adversary, with a greatly superior army of veterans, watching with a vigilant eye for an opportunity to effect its destruction.

But while the campaign of 1777 in the south resulted no way to the advantage of the Americans, events were taking place in the north of the most momentous character, and which led to the most brilliant success of the American arms. A new plan for invading the colonies was devised by the British cabinet, the design of which was to open a free communication between Canada and New York by marching a powerful army south from Quebec. The ministry were sanguine in their hopes that by this movement New England, which was regarded as the soul of the American confederacy, might be severed from the southern colonies and be compelled to submission. The design was a bold one, and would have been a master-stroke in the military art, had the projectors shown proper knowledge

and judgment in their estimation of the means for carrying it into success. But the leader whom they appointed to conduct the enterprise was General Burgoyne, an officer who had fought with great bravery in the wars in Europe, but was rash, presumptuous, conceited, and full of contempt for the military prowess of the Americans. He made no scruple of boasting, that, with an army of ten thousand men, he would march in triumph from one end of the continent to the other. Inspired by these vain boastings, the ministry made extraordinary efforts to raise and equip the most formidable army that had ever been sent to America. A large body of German mercenaries was added to the troops enlisted in England. Generals Frazer, Philips and Reidesel, officers of known talents and tried courage, were appointed to command them. Burgoyne, as lieutenant-general of the British forces in America, received ample powers for perfecting all the arrangements for the campaign. A strong body of savages were subsidized in Canada to assist the British army with the horrors of the tomahawk and scalping-knife, and the whole army rendezvoused at Quebec, in May, 1777. Sir Guy Carleton, governor of Canada, although the military command of the province was taken out of his hands by the appointment of Burgoyne, yet made every exertion to promote the undertaking.

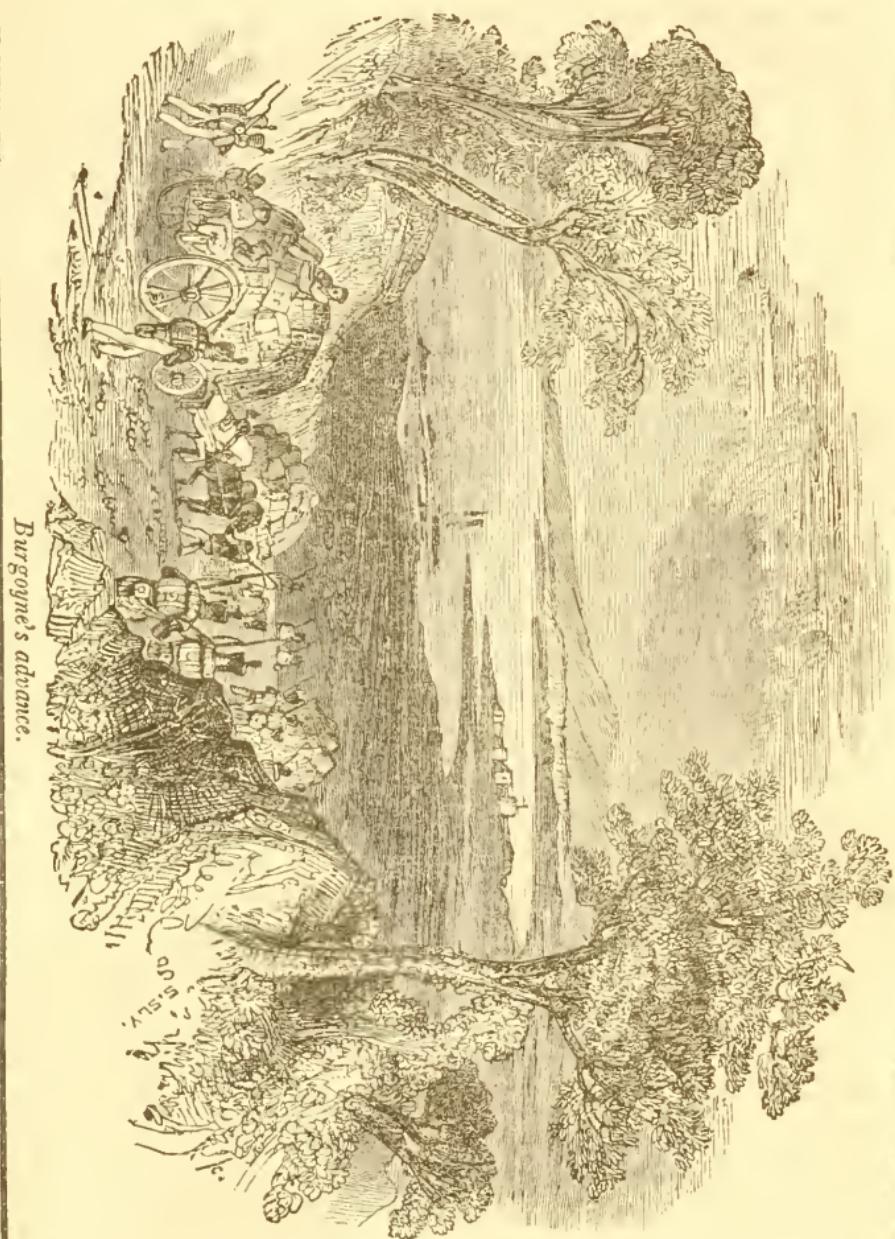
Burgoyne now found himself at the head of an army of ten thousand men, most thoroughly armed, equipped and victualled, and furnished with the finest train of brass artillery ever before seen in a British army. It consisted of sixty or seventy pieces, sixteen of which were twenty-four pounders. His plan was to proceed with the main body of the army, by the way of lake Champlain, to the river Hudson, while a detachment under St. Leger made a circuit by lake Ontario and penetrated to Albany by the route of the Mohawk. The army proceeded in boats up the St. Lawrence and Sorel, and on their arrival at lake Champlain were joined by the Indians. Burgoyne held a council with his savage allies. A war dance was performed; a profusion of strong liquor was dealt out to them, and the

general, in a long speech, aroused their animosity against the "Bostonians," as the men of the revolution were then called. He thought proper also to indulge a little in the hypocritical language of humanity,—as if a lesson of humanity, addressed to a savage while marching to battle, were anything but a mockery. He cautioned the ferocious barbarians not to scalp the wounded, nor their prisoners; but a bounty was to be given for every prisoner taken and brought in alive.

In June, the army arrived at Crown Point, and on the 19th, operations were commenced against Ticonderoga. General Gates had been succeeded in his command at the north by General Schuyler, who placed this fortress in good order for defence, and gave the command to General St. Clair. The fort was approached by the British, on the right wing of the American army, on the 2d of July, and possession taken of Mount Defiance. This lies contiguous to Ticonderoga, and overlooks the fortress. This mount had hitherto been deemed inaccessible, and had remained unoccupied. Cannon were hoisted by tackles, until the force was sufficient to dislodge the garrison. To save the men, Ticonderoga was now abandoned, and the American land force retired to Hubbardton, and thence to Castleton, where a stand was made, about thirty miles from Ticonderoga.

General Frazer, supported by General Reidesel, commenced a pursuit in the morning, with the light troops of the British and Germans, and overtook the American rear-guard, under Colonel Warner, at Castleton, and commenced an attack on the 7th, which became sharp and bloody. The British were routed at first, with loss; but finding that Colonel Warner was not supported by General St. Clair, they rallied to the combat, and, with the bayonet, charged and dispersed the American rear, with the loss of about three hundred men; and Colonel Warner retired with the remainder of his troops to Fort Ann.

Burgoyne, with the main body of the British army, sailed from Ticonderoga, in pursuit of the American fleet; destroyed and dispersed the whole, and landed at Skenes-



Burgoyne's advance.

borough, now Whitehall. He there detached Lieutenant-Colonel Hill, with a strong party, to dislodge the Americans from Fort Ann. The garrison marched out on the morning of the 6th, and commenced an attack upon the detachment, which was sharply supported by both parties for about two hours, with apparent success on the part of the Americans; but a party of Indians appeared and joined Colonel Hill, and the Americans withdrew from the field, abandoned the fortress, and retired to Fort Edward, July 12th. The whole force, at this time, at Fort Edward, did not exceed five thousand men.

The operations of both armies were now commenced with vigor. In his retreat, the American general destroyed bridges, and obstructed the roads, to impede the pursuit of Burgoyne; but all these difficulties were surmounted, and, on the 30th, the British force reached Fort Edward, which had been abandoned by Schuyler on the 27th. He retired to Saratoga, and, on the 1st of August, removed to Stillwater, only twenty-five miles north of Albany. The nation saw, with deep regret, that this remnant of an army was compelled to flee before a victorious enemy, and that those important fortresses were abandoned. These events greatly depressed the spirits of our countrymen, while the foe exulted in the triumph.

On the 3d of August, Colonel St. Leger was detached by General Burgoyne against Fort Stanwix, on the Mohawk, as a diversion. To relieve the fort, the American general, Herkimer, advanced with eight hundred militia. Near the fort he fell into an Indian ambush, and was killed in a most severe action. The garrison sallied out, decided the sanguinary contest, drove off the Indians, and relieved the fortress. The colonel sent a summons to the fort to surrender, but Colonel Gansevoort returned a prompt and spirited refusal. The siege of the fort was continued, and the garrison were too weak to relieve themselves. An object which cannot be accomplished by force is often obtained by stratagem. Major Butler, a noted officer among the Indians, and a man by the name of Cuyler, who was taken up as a spy, were prisoners in the Ameri-

MSLV
Action at Skeneborough.



can camp. It was proposed that they should be employed as deceptive messengers to spread an alarm and induce the enemy to retreat. General Arnold soon after arrived, and approved of the plan. It was accordingly agreed that they should be liberated on condition that they should return to the enemy and make such exaggerated report of General Arnold's force, as to alarm and put them to flight. They were also promised that their estates should be returned to them if they succeeded. Matters being thus adjusted, and Cuyler's coat shot through in two or three places, he started directly for the Indian camp, where he was well known, and informed their warriors that Major Butler was taken, and that himself narrowly escaped, several balls having passed through his coat, and that General Arnold, with a vast force, was advancing rapidly towards them. The stratagem was successful; the Indians determined to quit the siege; nor was it in the power of St. Leger to prevent them. The consequence was, that St. Leger, finding himself deserted by his Indians, to the number of seven or eight hundred, deemed his situation so hazardous that he decamped in the greatest confusion, leaving his tents and most of his artillery and stores behind. In the evening, while on their retreat, St. Leger had a warm altercation with one of the officers about the ill-success of the expedition. Two sachems, observing this, resolved to have a laugh at their expense; they directed a young warrior to loiter in the rear, and then, on a sudden, run as if alarmed, calling out, *They are coming—they are coming!* On hearing this, the two commanders rushed into a swamp near by, and the men threw away their packs and hurried off. This joke was repeated several times during the night.

Burgoyne's savage allies not only proved an embarrassment to his movements, by their sickleness and inconstancy, but the horrid cruelties which they practised upon the defenceless inhabitants excited the utmost indignation throughout the country, and brought increased odium upon the British cause. A most aggravated case of this sort was that of Miss M'Crea, a young and beautiful American

girl, who was betrothed to a British officer. She fell into the hands of two of the savages, who disputed about the possession of her, and finished the altercation by dashing a tomahawk into her head. This tragical circumstance became the subject of a correspondence between Generals Gates and Burgoyne; and the wide circulation of the story throughout the country inflamed the people to the utmost zeal against the nation who could employ these savage auxiliaries.



Murder of Miss M'Crea.

During these movements, General Washington detached General Lincoln to the northward, to take command of such eastern militia as might join the northern army. He arrived at Manchester on the 2d of August, where he took the command of six hundred militia, and, on the 6th, he was joined by General Stark, with eight hundred more. General Stark was a soldier of merit, and had deserved well of his country, by his distinguished services in the famous battle of Bunker's Hill; but he had felt himself wounded by the neglect of congress, after the battle, and retired. He engaged at this time in the service of his country, upon the express condition that he should not be constrained to serve under a continental officer; he accordingly resisted the pressing solicitations of General Schuy-

ler, to join him in checking the progress of General Burgoyne.

Burgoyne continued to advance, and, on the 30th of July, reached the Hudson at Fort Edward. On the 9th of August, he detached Colonel Baum, with five hundred Germans and one hundred Indians, to seize on the American stores at Bennington, to enable him to pursue his march to Albany. General Stark was apprized of this movement, and sent expresses to collect the neighboring militia, and marched to meet the enemy on the 14th, supported by Colonels Warner, Williams, and Brush. The advance parties of the two armies met, and commenced a skirmishing, that continued through the day. On the 15th, all operations were suspended by the excessive rains that fell; but, on the 16th, General Stark was joined by the Berkshire militia, under Colonel Symonds, and he detached Nichols to take post in the rear of the enemy on the left, and Colonel Hendrick to take post in the rear of his right, to be supported by Colonels Hubbard and Stickley, still farther on the right. About three o'clock in the afternoon, General Stark commenced an attack upon the enemy, strongly intrenched, and supported by two field-pieces. The attack became general, and was valiantly supported on both sides: the Indians fled; the Germans were over-powered, forced from their intrenchments, and put to flight. The militia, flushed with the successes of the day, abandoned the pursuit, and gave themselves up to plunder. At this eventful moment, Lieutenant-Colonel Breyman joined Colonel Baum with a reinforcement; they rallied to the charge, and renewed the combat. Colonel Warner led on his regiment of continentals, at this critical moment, and supported the action until the militia could recover their order, and advance to the charge. The action soon became general, and continued through the day. The Germans again gave way, and secured their retreat under cover of the night, leaving their artillery, baggage, &c., with two hundred slain, and seven hundred prisoners, among whom was Colonel Baum. This was an important action, and proved ruinous to General Burgoyne.

The following anecdote of the battle of Bennington deserves to be noticed for the honor of the person who was the subject of it, though his name has not been ascertained. A venerable old man had five sons in the field of battle near Bennington. Being told that he had been unfortunate in one of his sons, "What," says he, "has he deserted his post, or shrunk from the charge?" Being told that he had been slain, but fell contending mightily in the cause, "Then I am satisfied," replied the good old man; "bring him and lay him before me." The corpse was brought in and laid before him. He then called for a bowl of water and a napkin, and with his own hands washed the gore and dirt from the wounds.

The victory of Bennington had the most important effect. It immediately turned the tide of success, which till then had run almost constantly against the Americans. They now gathered fresh courage; bodies of militia began to flock to the scene of action. General Gates was appointed to the command of the northern army, and there was now a well-grounded hope of checking the progress of Burgoyne. On the rear of the British was an American force, under General Lincoln, and, on the 18th, General Brown destroyed the British stores at lake George, releasing a number of American prisoners. Successful operations were also commenced against Ticonderoga and Skeneborough, now Whitehall. Burgoyne had crossed the Hudson, and finally took post at Stillwater, but three miles from General Gates.

On the 18th of September, Gates detached about three thousand men to offer the enemy battle; but he declined the combat. On the 19th, the scouting parties of the two armies commenced a skirmishing, that led to a general action, which continued through the day, and was supported with great zeal and intrepid bravery. Night closed the scene, and the two generals drew off their armies to protect their camps, and waited with impatience the returning day. In this action, the American loss was about three hundred, and that of the English about five hundred.

The American strength was now about seven thousand,

not including about two thousand under General Lincoln, who were then at Bennington. The Indian allies of Great Britain were deserting the standard of General Burgoyne since the late contest, and four of the Six Nations favored the cause of America, and furnished one hundred and fifty warriors. The troops under General Lincoln now added to the force under General Gates, and revived the spirits of the army.

The two armies were within cannon shot, and had frequent skirmishes until the 7th of October, when the advancing parties came in contact about three o'clock in the afternoon. The gallant Colonel Morgan, at the head of his famous rifle corps, and Major Dearborn, leading a detachment of infantry, commenced the action. In all parts of the field the conflict became extremely furious and obstinate, each disdaining to yield the palm of victory. Death appeared to have lost his terrors. The Americans continued to press forward with renewed strength and ardor, and compelled the whole British line, under Burgoyne, to yield to their deadly fire, and retreat in disorder. The German troops remained firmly posted at their lines; these were now boldly assaulted by General Learned and Lieutenant-Colonel Brooks, with such intrepidity, that their works were carried, and their brave commander, Colonel Breyman, was slain. All the equipage of the brigade fell into the hands of the Americans. Nightfall put a stop to the action, though the victory was most decisive. Besides Colonel Breyman, General Frazer, the most valuable officer in the British service, and Sir Francis Clark, aid-de-camp to General Burgoyne, were mortally wounded. Several other officers and about two hundred privates were made prisoners; nine pieces of cannon and a considerable quantity of ammunition fell into the hands of the Americans, which were much wanted. The loss of the Americans did not exceed thirty killed and one hundred wounded, while one hundred of the enemy were killed, and left unburied on the field.

On the 8th, General Gates detached a body of troops to get into the rear of the British army. Burgoyne took the



Burgoyne's retreat.

alarm, and immediately retreated to Saratoga, which he accomplished the next night, leaving his hospital, containing three hundred sick and wounded, with medicinal stores and two hundred barrels of flour, behind. On their retreat, the British committed the most wanton devastations, burning and destroying almost every house within their reach. The elegant and valuable country-seat belonging to General Schuyler, near Saratoga, did not escape their fury.

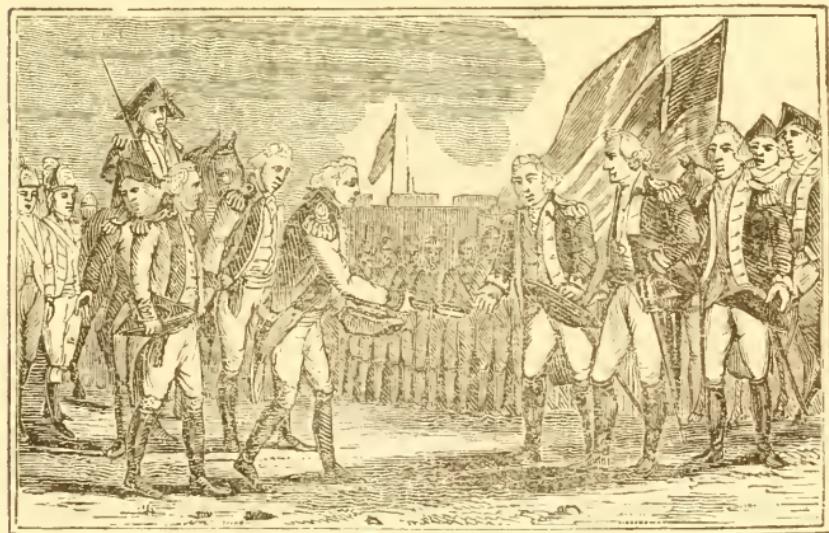
In this critical situation, Sir Henry Clinton made an unsuccessful effort to relieve Burgoyne. He pushed up the Hudson river, captured Forts Montgomery and Clinton, which were bravely defended by General James Clinton and his brother, who, with a part of the garrison, made their escape. Sir Henry, with wanton cruelty, set fire to houses and buildings of every description, destroying, by conflagration, the church and every other building in the beautiful town of Esopus.

After the capture of the two forts, Clinton despatched a messenger, by the name of Daniel Taylor, to Burgoyne, with the intelligence. Fortunately, he was taken on the way as a spy. Finding himself in danger, he was seen to turn aside and take something from his pocket and swallow it. The American commander ordered a severe dose of emetic tartar to be administered; this produced the effect; he discharged a small silver bullet, which, being unscrewed, was found to enclose a letter to Burgoyne. "Out of thine own mouth thou shalt be condemned." The spy was tried, convicted and executed.

General Burgoyne now perceived that all the passes in his rear were strongly guarded, and that further retreat was next to impossible. In this difficulty, he called a council on the 18th of October. While the council was deliberating, an eighteen pound shot crossed the table, and they resolved unanimously to propose terms with General Gates. The proposals of Gates were rejected, and General Burgoyne then sent in terms, on which the capitulation was finally made. The news of the capture in the Highlands is said to have arrived at this juncture, which led General Burgoyne to hesitate, in expectation of relief from

Sir Henry Clinton. General Gates, seizing the critical moment, drew up his army in battle array, and sent in a flag, demanding a reply in ten minutes. The responsibility was great, and Burgoyne felt it. The treaty was signed on the 17th of October, and returned in due time.

The whole British army marched out of their lines, deposited their arms, and became prisoners of war. The Americans marched in, under the tune of *Yankee Doodle*, and took quiet possession. General Gates ordered supplies to be issued to the British army, who were destitute, and the solemn scene was closed. The trophies which were gained by this great victory, were five thousand seven hundred and ninety-one prisoners, a train of brass artillery and other ordnance immensely valuable, consisting of forty-two pieces of brass cannon, besides seven thousand muskets, with seventy-two thousand cartridges and an ample supply of shot, shells, and clothing for seven thousand men, with a large number of tents and other military stores.



Surrender of Burgoyne.

CHAPTER VII.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Effects of the capture of Burgoyne in Europe—Astonishment and mortification of the British—Opposition in parliament—Obstinacy of the ministry—Treaty of alliance with France—War between France and England—Evacuation of Philadelphia by the British—Battle of Monmouth—Arrival of a French fleet in America—Campaign in Rhode Island—Ravages of the British—Anecdotes of the war—Thomas Paine—Intrigues of the British—Massacre at Wyoming—Surprise and massacre of Colonel Baylor's regiment—Savage warfare in Pennsylvania—Campaign in Georgia—Capture of Savannah by the British—Invasion of South Carolina—Peril of Charleston—Georgia overrun by the British—They retreat from Charleston—Devastations of the British in Virginia.*

THE capture of Burgoyne's army produced the most important results on the other side of the Atlantic. The spectacle of a whole British army laying down their arms and surrendering prisoners of war, at once fixed the attention of all Europe. The turn of affairs in favor of the American cause was prodigious. The previous disasters of the American arms had induced a belief in Europe, even among the friends of the colonists, that the cause of independence could not succeed. The rapid advance of Burgoyne into the interior, the fall of the important fortress of Ticonderoga, and the boastful announcements of victory made by the British and circulated all over Europe, had produced a general impression that the colonists were at length completely subdued. In the midst of the exultations in England, at these flattering prospects, came the unexpected and astounding intelligence that Burgoyne and his army had laid down their arms before a victorious American army. On the evening of the day on which the ministry received their private despatches containing the news, a rumor of their contents had got into the house of

commons, just as the members had assembled. One of them arose, and with the most imperative earnestness of manner addressed the treasury benches, demanding what were the accounts from America. Being compelled to disclose the mortifying fact, the chancellor of the exchequer arose, and, in a weak and faint voice, informed the house it was too true that General Burgoyne and his army were prisoners of war.

At this announcement, a storm of indignation, sarcasm, reproach and invective was poured upon the king's ministers by the speakers of the opposition, who overwhelmed them with the bitterest declamation on their imbecility, rashness and obstinacy. Edmund Burke, who had been



Edmund Burke.

from the beginning the friend and champion of the colonists, exhausted all the powers of his eloquence in attempting to convince the ministry and their partisans of the madness of their attempt to reduce the Americans by force. But, in spite of all this tempest of argument and rhetoric, and the mortifying calamities which had fallen upon the arms of Britain, such was the infatuation of the court and

ministry, that the hostile temper was kept up. The ministers declared, "If ten thousand men cannot conquer America, *fifty thousand shall!*" And with the help of a strong majority in parliament, more supplies were raised, new troops levied, and the war carried on.

The most important among the immediate consequences of the capture of Burgoyne, was the treaty of alliance between America and France.



Franklin.

Dr. Franklin, who, after having served the country as colonial agent in England, had returned to America in season to sign the Declaration of Independence, sailed immediately after on a mission to Paris. He was well received by the French, among whom he stood in high reputation for his brilliant discoveries in science. But, during the early part of his residence there, the affairs of the colonists were in so unpromising a condition that he was unable to accomplish anything in their favor by negotiation. Franklin was joined by Silas Deane and Arthur Lee, as associate commissioners in the negotiation: and at length, on the news of the important victory of Saratoga, the French

ministry conceived so high an opinion of the spirit and determination of the Americans, that they resolved to espouse their cause. Accordingly, on the 6th of February, 1778, a treaty of alliance between the French king and the thirteen American states was signed at Paris. By this treaty the king acknowledged the independence of the colonies, and agreed to assist them with a fleet and army, in case war should break out between France and England; in the event of which, the contracting parties were to make common cause, and neither party was to lay down arms till the independence of the United States should be firmly secured. The news of this treaty exasperated the British ministry with the highest rage against the French. Their ambassador was immediately recalled from Paris, and war shortly afterwards broke out between the two kingdoms.



Silas Deane.

The British army, under Sir Henry Clinton, lay inactive at Philadelphia during the early part of 1778. But the intelligence of the French alliance, and the apprehension of seeing a French squadron on the coast, caused that general to conceive fears for his safety, and he decided to

abandon Philadelphia. On the 18th of June, the royal army crossed the Delaware, on the road to New York. But Washington had foreseen this, and prepared the militia of New Jersey to give the British a troublesome march. He crossed the Delaware in pursuit, and the hostile armies met at Monmouth on the 28th, sixty-four miles from Philadelphia. The contest was severe, and the weather so hot, that numbers of both armies perished from that cause, and the use of water when it could be obtained. Owing to the misconduct of General Lee, the Americans failed of achieving a decided victory. They remained on the battle-ground, intending to renew the contest in the morning, but the enemy made good a retreat. The loss of the Americans was eight officers and sixty-one privates killed, and one hundred and sixty wounded. The British loss, in killed, wounded and missing, was three hundred and fifty-eight men, including officers. One hundred prisoners were taken, and the loss by desertion was one thousand. Sir Henry retired, by forced marches, to Sandy Hook, where he was taken on board the fleet, and embarked the army for New York. General Lee was censured by a court-martial for disobedience of orders on this occasion. It appears that he first declined a particular command, and then asked for it. Washington directed him to commence the attack, "unless there should be powerful reasons to the contrary;" and his disobedience "and doubtful movements" appear to have marred the expected success, and justified the event, in depriving him of his command.

The French government, by the terms of the treaty, had now entered into the war. On the 8th of July, Count D'Estaing entered the capes of the Delaware, with the Toulon fleet, after a passage of eighty-seven days; Lord Howe had been gone only eleven days, and Sir Henry Clinton had evacuated Philadelphia only one month before, and was now embarking his army at Sandy Hook, for New York. The French fleet was about double the force of the English, both in the number of ships and weight of metal.

D'Estaing landed Mr. Gerard, French minister to the United States, who was most cordially received by congress

at Philadelphia, and, on the 9th, set sail for Sandy Hook, where he arrived on the 11th, and blockaded the English squadron in the harbor. The count made all possible efforts to attack the English fleet in the harbor, but found it impracticable to cross the bar with his heavy ships, and, on the 22d, agreeably to advice from General Washington, he set sail for Newport, to coöperate in the destruction of the British fleet and army at Rhode Island. Admiral Byron's squadron arrived at Sandy Hook, a few days after the departure of the French fleet, in a very broken, sickly, disinasted, distressed situation. The provision ships from Cork arrived also, and entered the harbor of New York in safety, to the inexpressible joy of the British army, who were in great want of supplies.

D'Estaing arrived off Point Judith on the 29th of July; and such was the joy upon the occasion, that it diffused the fire and zeal of 1775 and 1776 throughout New England. Volunteers, by thousands, flocked to the standard of their country to join General Sullivan, and coöperate with their illustrious allies in the reduction of Rhode Island. Washington had detached La Fayette and General Greene, with two thousand men, to join the general enterprise. The American force was now about ten thousand strong. Sir Robert Pigot, who commanded at Newport, had been reinforced with five battalions, which rendered his force about six thousand strong. Thus balanced, the parties commenced their operations. D'Estaing entered the harbor of Newport on the 18th of August, without opposition. General Pigot, the British commander, destroyed the English shipping, to prevent their falling into the hands of the French. On the 9th of August, at eight in the morning, Sullivan began to cross over with his army from Tiverton, the enemy having abandoned their works at the north end of the island. At two in the morning, Lord Howe appeared off Point Judith, with a fleet of twenty-five sail of the line, where he anchored for the night. On the 10th, D'Estaing, eager to meet the British fleet, took advantage of the wind, and put to sea. The two fleets manœuvred through the day, without coming to action. On the 11th, a violent gale

sprang up, and continued through the 12th and 13th, which parted the fleets, dismasted the French admiral's ship, destroyed her rudder, and greatly damaged several others. On the 14th, the gale abated, and close and severe actions commenced between several single ships of the two fleets, but nothing decisive. The count, having collected six of his ships, covered his disabled fleet, and stood in for Newport, and came to anchor. Greene and La Fayette went on board the admiral's ship, and pressed him to enter the harbor of Newport, and complete the enterprise; but the fleet was so shattered by the storm, and the officers were generally so averse, that the count concluded to sail for Boston.

Meantime the troops under General Sullivan had gained the north end of the island, and marched down upon the enemy's lines, ready to coöperate with the French fleet, and commence the attack; but their sufferings in the storm were so severe, that the troops were in a deplorable state. On the 15th, the American army had recovered from their fatigues, and were again prepared for action. In this situation they continued, anxiously waiting the movements of the French fleet, to join in the general attack; but, to their grief and astonishment, they saw them weigh and stand off for Boston, on the 24th. The mortification of General Sullivan was greater than the pride of an American soldier could sustain, and he expressed himself unguardedly, in his general orders, on the occasion. On the 28th, however, Count D'Estaing wrote to congress, from Boston, and explained his movements to their satisfaction.

Sullivan soon saw himself abandoned by most of the volunteers, which reduced his army to a standard below that of the enemy, and he hastened to secure his retreat.

On the 25th, he sent off his heavy cannon, and on the 29th retired to the north end of the island. General Pigot pursued with his whole force, to intercept his retreat. The advance-guard of the enemy was soon engaged with the rearguard of the Americans, and a severe action ensued, that continued through the day. The next day, Sullivan learnt that Lord Howe was again at sea, and that the

French fleet was not expected to return to Newport, and he hastened to evacuate the island. With the assistance of Greene and La Fayette, he conducted his retreat in the presence of a superior foe, whose sentries were not more than four hundred yards distant from the American sentries; and, on the morning of the 1st of September, 1778, the retreat was accomplished without the loss of a man, or any part of the artillery or baggage. The same day, Clinton arrived off Newport, on board of the fleet under Lord Howe, with four thousand troops, to cut off the American retreat; but, learning the departure of the French for Boston and the retreat of the Americans, he set sail for Boston, in pursuit of the French. On the morning of the 3d, he discovered the French fleet in the harbor of Boston, strongly posted, and returned to New York. On the 5th, Howe commenced an attack upon the American shipping in New Bedford harbor, and destroyed about seventy sail, besides small craft, stores, dwelling-houses, and vessels on the stocks, together with the magazine, to the amount of twenty thousand pounds sterling. He then attacked Martha's Vineyard, destroyed all the vessels, and carried off the arms of the militia, and public money, three hundred oxen, and ten thousand sheep, and returned to New York with his plunder.

These and many other marauding excursions, in which the British soldiery abandoned themselves to every excess of wanton violence and brutality towards the defenceless inhabitants, only exasperated the people to a more determined resistance against their invaders. Volumes might be filled with anecdotes illustrating the spirit and temper which prevailed at this period. The limits of our work will allow us to specify one or two incidents.

In a former chapter we have related the story of a citizen of Billerica, in Massachusetts, who was tarred and feathered by the British grenadiers, in Boston, for purchasing a musket. The man who had been thus shamefully dealt with, obtained *revenge* in his own way. Keeping in his possession *the same old musket*, an opportunity was not long wanting for that purpose. His country flew to arms, to

redress public grievances, and he to revenge his private ones. As soon as he heard that the British had marched to Concord, he seized the same musket, and flew to the scene of action. When the British were on the retreat, he selected a tree, with thick boughs, by the road-side, and, taking deliberate aim, every shot from the dear-bought musket took off one of the enemy. Aiming particularly at the officers, he soon brought down the commander of the tar-kettle. Half a dozen shots were fired into the tree; two of the bullets passed through his hat, but did no other damage. He was also present at the battle of Bunker Hill, where he had an opportunity of using the old musket to still greater advantage; reserving his fire, agreeably to the mode enjoined by Putnam, until he could see the enemy's eye, he brought down his man at every shot. He was the last to leave the ditch, and when his powder and ball were expended, he fought furiously with the butt of his musket, and as he dashed in the skulls of two or three in quick succession, he exclaimed, "That's to pay for the tar and feathers."



Bravery of Sergeant Jasper.

Mr. Jasper, a sergeant in the revolutionary army, had a brother, who had joined the British, and who, likewise, held

the rank of sergeant in their garrison at Ebenezer, in Georgia. No man could be truer to the American cause than Sergeant Jasper; yet he warmly loved his tory brother, and actually went to the British garrison to see him. His brother was exceedingly alarmed, lest he should be seized and hung as an American spy; for his name was well known to many of the British officers. "Do not trouble yourself," said Jasper; "I am no longer an American soldier." "Thank God for that, William," exclaimed his brother, heartily shaking him by the hand; "and now, only say the word, my boy, and here is a commission for you, with regimentals and gold to boot, to fight for his majesty King George."

Jasper shook his head, and observed, that, though there was but little encouragement to fight *for* his country, he could not find it in his heart to fight *against* her. And there the conversation ended. After staying two or three days with his brother, inspecting and hearing all that he could, he took his leave, returned to the American camp, by a circuitous route, and told General Lincoln all that he had seen. Soon after, he made another trip to the English garrison, taking with him his particular friend, Sergeant Newton, who was a young man of great strength and courage. His brother received him with his usual cordiality; and he and his friend spent several days at the British fort, without giving the least alarm. On the morning of the third day, his brother observed that he had bad news to tell him. "Ah! what is it?" asked William. "Why," replied his brother, "here are ten or a dozen American prisoners, brought in this morning, as deserters, from Savannah, whither they are to be sent immediately; and, from what I can learn, it will be apt to go hard with them, for it seems they have all taken the king's bounty."

"Let us see them," said Jasper. So his brother took him and his friend Newton to see them. It was, indeed, a melancholy sight to see the poor fellows, handcuffed upon the ground. But when the eye rested on a young woman, wife of one of the prisoners, with her child, a sweet little boy of five years, all pity for the male prisoners was for-

gotten. Her humble garb showed that she was poor; but her deep distress and sympathy with her unfortunate husband proved that she was rich in conjugal love, more precious than all gold. She generally sat on the ground, opposite to her husband, with her little boy leaning on her lap, and her coal-black hair spreading in long, neglected tresses on her neck and bosom. Sometimes she would sit silent as a statue of grief, her eyes fixed upon the earth; then she would start with a convulsive throb, and gaze on her husband's face with looks as piercing sad, as if she already saw him struggling in the halter, herself a widow, and her son an orphan; while the child, distressed by his mother's anguish, added to the pathos of the scene by the artless tears of childish suffering. Though Jasper and Newton were undaunted in the field of battle, their feelings were subdued by such heart-stirring misery. As they walked out into the neighboring wood, the tears stood in the eyes of both. Jasper first broke silence. "Newton," said he, "my days have been but few; but I believe their course is nearly finished." "Why so, Jasper?" "Why, I feel that I must rescue those poor prisoners, or die with them; otherwise, the remembrance of that poor woman and her child will haunt me to my grave." "That is exactly what I feel, too," replied Newton; "and here is my hand and heart to stand by you, my brave friend, to the last drop. Thank God, a man can die but once; and why should we fear to leave this life in the way of our duty?"

The friends embraced each other, and entered into the necessary arrangements for fulfilling their desperate resolution. Immediately after breakfast, the prisoners were sent on their way to Savannah, under the guard of a sergeant and corporal, with eight men. They had not been gone long, before Jasper, accompanied by his friend Newton, took leave of his brother, and set out on some pretended errand to the upper country. They had scarcely, however, got out of sight of Ebenezer, before they struck into the woods, and pushed hard after the prisoners and their guard, whom they closely dogged for several miles,

anxiously watching an opportunity to make a blow. The hope, indeed, seemed extravagant; for what could *two* unarmed men do against *ten*, equipped with loaded muskets and bayonets? However, unable to give up their countrymen, our heroes still travelled on.

About two miles from Savannah, there is a famous spring, generally called the Spa, well known to travellers, who often stopped there to quench their thirst. "Perhaps," said Jasper, "the guard may stop there." Hastening on through the woods, they gained the Spa, as their last hope, and there concealed themselves among the thick bushes that grew around the spring. Presently, the mournful procession came in sight of the spring, where the sergeant ordered a halt. Hope sprung afresh in the bosoms of our heroes, though, no doubt, mixed with great alarm; for "it was a fearful odds." The corporal, with his guard of four men, conducted the prisoners to the spring, while the sergeant, with the other four, having grounded their arms near the road, brought up the rear. The prisoners, wearied with their long walk, were permitted to rest themselves on the earth. Poor Mrs. Jones, as usual, took her seat opposite her husband, and her little boy, overcome with fatigue, fell asleep in her lap. Two of the corporal's men were ordered to keep guard, and the other two to give the prisoners drink out of their canteens. These last approached the spring, where our heroes lay concealed, and, resting their muskets against a pine tree, dipped up the water. Having drunk themselves, they turned away, with replenished canteens, to give to the prisoners also. "Now Newton, is our time," said Jasper.

Then, bursting like lions from their concealment, they snatched up the two muskets that were resting against the pine, and, in an instant, shot down the two soldiers who were upon guard. It was now a contest who should get the two loaded muskets that fell from the hands of the slain; for, by this time, a couple of brave Englishmen, recovering from their momentary panic, had sprung and seized upon the muskets; but before they could use them, the swift-handed Americans, with clubbed guns, levelled a

final blow at the heads of their brave antagonists. The tender bones of the skull gave way, and down they sunk, pale and quivering, without a groan. Then, hastily seizing the muskets, which had thus a second time fallen from the hands of the slain, they flew between their surviving enemies and their weapons, grounded near the road, and ordered them to surrender; which they instantly did. They then snapped the handcuffs of the prisoners, and armed them with muskets.

At the commencement of the fight, poor Mrs. Jones had fallen to the earth in a swoon, and her little son stood screaming piteously over her. But when she recovered, and saw her husband and his friends freed from their fetters, she behaved like one frantic with joy. She sprung to her husband's bosom, and, with her arms round his neck, sobbed out, "My husband is safe—bless God, my husband is safe." Then, snatching up her child, she pressed him to her heart, as she exclaimed, "Thank God! my son has a father yet." Then, kneeling at the feet of Jasper and Newton, she pressed their hands vehemently, but, in the fulness of her heart, she could only say, "God bless you! God Almighty bless you!" For fear of being retaken by the English, our heroes seized the arms and regimentals of the dead, and, with their friends and captive foes, recrossed the Savannah, and safely joined the American army at Purisburgh, to the inexpressible astonishment and joy of all.

The celebrated Thomas Paine, then known only as a political writer, came to America in the early part of the contest, and employed his pen with great success in defense of the cause of independence. He was master of a plain, forcible and homely style, admirably fitted for popular effect. His pamphlet entitled *Common Sense* had a prodigious circulation, and contributed not a little in strengthening the feeling of opposition to the domineering spirit of Britain. Paine's political writings were numerous, and much applauded by the friends of free institutions. But his popularity received a severe shock by his subsequent writings against religion, which were composed amidst the maddening frenzy of the French revolution.

*Thomas Paine.*

The following extract of a letter from General Washington, strikingly illustrates the situation of affairs at this period: "It is not a little pleasing, nor less wonderful, to contemplate, that, after two years' manœuvring, and undergoing the strangest vicissitudes that perhaps ever attended any one contest since the creation, both armies are brought back to the very point they set out from, and the offending party, in the beginning, is reduced to the spade and pick-axe for defence. The hand of Providence has been so conspicuous in all this, that he must be worse than an infidel that lacks faith, and more than wicked, that has not gratitude enough to acknowledge his obligations."

The British, distrusting the success of their arms, determined to accomplish their object by the arts of diplomacy. An attempt was made to bribe Mr. Reed, and other members of congress, to assist in reconciling the Americans to the English government. The instrument of this attempt was George Johnston, Esq., one of the British commissioners. Mr. Reed replied—"I am not worth buying, but such as I am, the king of England is not rich enough to do it." The facts were disclosed to congress, and excited considerable feeling. Congress then resolved, that all letters addressed to members of congress by British commissioners, or agents, or any subjects of the king of Great

Britain, of a public nature, should be laid before that body. To this resolution, a spirited reply was made from New York, by Johnston, and a total disavowal of the facts, on the part of Sir Henry Clinton, Lord Carlisle, and Mr. Eden. At the same time, a ratification of the convention of Saratoga was tendered, that the troops of Burgoyne might be suffered to embark for England. This was declined by congress, unless ratified by the British government. By the terms of Saratoga, the British troops were to be sent home on their parole. This was not done, as the British officers had violated the treaty in not giving up their side arms, and Burgoyne's troops were detained at Boston.

The British commissioners then appealed to the people, and this was allowed by congress, trusting that the good sense of the inhabitants would treat it with contempt, and cover the authors with lasting disgrace. Chagrined by their failure in this insidious measure, they denounced the American government in a manifesto, threatening the American people with destruction, if they determined to persevere in their rebellion, and adhere to their alliance with France. This idle threat was fairly met by congress, by a statement of the mode of warfare adopted by the enemy, which was thus concluded: "If our enemies presume to execute their threats, or persist in their present career of barbarity, we will take such exemplary vengeance as shall deter others from a like conduct. We appeal to that God, who is the Searcher of hearts, for the rectitude of our intentions, and in his holy presence declare, that as we are not moved by any light or hasty suggestions of anger or revenge, so, through every possible change of fortune, we will adhere to this our determination."

Dr. Franklin, till now a commissioner at the French court, was appointed minister plenipotentiary to the court of Versailles, with instructions to negotiate for an expedition to Canada. About this time, the Sieur Gerard delivered his credentials to congress, and was recognised as a minister from the French court. La Fayette requested

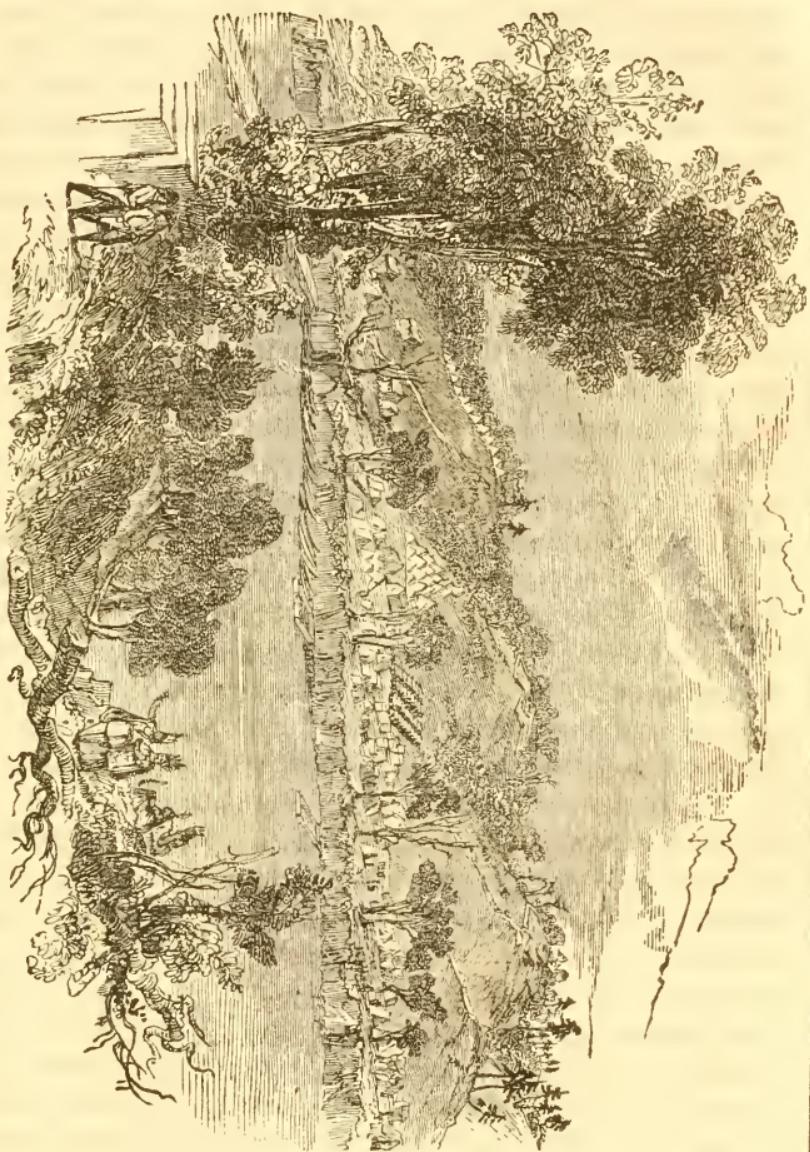
leave to return to France, to which congress readily consented, and directed the president to express to him, by letter, the thanks of congress, for that disinterested zeal that led him to America, as well as those services he had rendered the United States, by the exertions of his courage and abilities, on many signal occasions. They also directed Dr. Franklin to cause an elegant sword to be made, with proper devies, and presented to the marquis, in the name of the United States. Congress, at the same time, addressed a letter to the king of France, expressive of the high sense they entertained of the talents and services of the marquis. He took his leave of congress by letter, repaired to Boston, and embarked for France.

During these movements, the Indians, in concert with the tories, began their ravages upon the Susquehanna; in August, 1778, they entered the settlements in a body of about sixteen hundred; defeated Colonel Butler, at the head of about four hundred men, and cut off his party with a terrible slaughter. They took one small fort at Kingston, and then carried Fort Wilkesbarre; butchered the garrison, and burnt the women and children in the barracks. They next proceeded to lay waste the settlements in the valley of Wyoming with fire and sword, and destroyed the cattle in the most wanton and barbarous manner; but spared the persons and property of the tories. These savage marauders were commanded by Colonel John Butler, a tory refugee, who was more cruel than his savage allies. The Americans were commanded by Colonel Zeb Butler, cousin to the commander of the savages. The women and children took refuge in the fort, which was defended by Colonel Dennison. After most of his men had fallen, he went out with a flag, to inquire what terms would be granted to them, on surrendering the garrison. He received from the ferocious Butler a reply in two words; "The hatchet." Colonel Dennison was finally obliged to surrender at discretion; when the threat of Butler was rigidly executed. The inhabitants, including women and children, were inclosed in the houses and barracks, which were immediately set on fire, and the demons of hell

glutted their vengeance in beholding their destruction in one general conflagration. They even extended their cruelty to the cattle in the fields, shooting some, and cutting out the tongues of others, leaving them alive. A few of the inhabitants only escaped, who fled to the woods, destitute of provisions or covering, shuddering with fear and distress; their sufferings were extreme. The cries of widows and orphans called loudly for the avenging hand of heaven. The name of *Colonel John Butler* ought to be consigned to eternal infamy, for the base treachery and cruelty with which he betrayed his kinsman, Colonel Zeb Butler, a respectable American officer, while under the sanction of a flag.

Early in October, Sir Henry Clinton detached Captain Ferguson, with about three hundred men, upon an expedition to Little Egg Harbor, under a strong convoy, to destroy the American shipping and privateers; but these being removed, Captain Ferguson proceeded up to Chesnut Neck, where he destroyed such vessels as were there, together with the whole village, and laid waste the adjacent country, and rejoined the squadron. On the 15th, the convoy, with the troops, moved round to another landing place not far distant, and landed two hundred and fifty men, under the command of Captain Ferguson, who advanced into the country in the silence of night, and surprised Count Pulaski's light infantry; killed the Baron de Base and Lieutenant De la Broderic, with fifty privates. These were mostly butchered in cold blood, begging for mercy, under the orders of *no quarters*; but Count Pulaski closed this horrid scene, by a sudden charge of his cavalry, that put to flight the murderous foe, and thus saved the remnant of his infantry. Captain Ferguson made a hasty retreat, embarked his party, and returned to New York.

Admiral Graves arrived at New York, on the 16th of October, in a most shattered condition, from a violent storm, which detained him the remainder of the month, to repair the fleet. About the first of November he put to sea, and appeared off the harbor of Boston, on a visit to the Count D'Estaing; but a violent storm here overtook him,



Tappaan on the Hudson.

scattered his fleet, destroyed the *Somerset*, of sixty-four guns, on the shores of Cape Cod, and forced the rest into Rhode Island for shelter.

About this time a regiment of American cavalry, commanded by Colonel Baylor, being posted on the lines near Tappaan, their situation was betrayed by some tories. A party of the enemy surprised them while in a barn, in the night, and massacred a part of them with the most savage cruelty. The commander of the party who disgraced themselves by this foul deed, was the English general Grey. Colonel Baylor's detachment consisted of one hundred and four horsemen. The attack was so sudden, that they were entirely defenceless, and the enemy immediately commenced the horrid work of slaughter. Their entreaties and cries for mercy were totally disregarded. Very few only of this regiment escaped.

The war now exhibited scenes of the most unrelenting barbarity. Except in few instances, the rules of civilized warriors seemed hardly to be known, and the combatants seemed mutually determined on a war of extermination. Hostilities were carried anew into the Susquehanna country. Colonel William Butler, at the head of a Pennsylvania regiment, with a band of riflemen, led an expedition to the Indian villages, which he destroyed, and, after enduring the greatest hardships, returned in safety in sixteen days. To avenge this incursion, Colonel John Butler, at the head of a strong party, surprised Colonel Alden, at Cherry Valley, who was killed, and the greatest cruelties were perpetrated. Fifty or sixty men, women, and children, were killed or made captives, and even the dead were made monuments of savage barbarities.

All further designs against the north seemed now to be abandoned. Clinton and Prescott, who commanded in East Florida, concerted a plan of operations against Georgia. Before this could be carried into effect, two parties entered Georgia from Florida, one by land, and the other by water. The latter advanced to Sunbury, and summoned the place to surrender; but receiving a spirited reply from Colonel Mackintosh, the attempt was abandoned. The other party

made for Savannah, but, being firmly opposed by General Screven and Colonel Elbert, nothing was effected, if we except the plundering of negroes and cattle, and the commission of the most wanton barbarities. Colonel Screven was killed in the defence.

On the 27th of November, 1778, Colonel Campbell embarked at Sandy Hook, at the head of one regiment, two battalions of regulars, and four of tories, with a detachment of artillery,—in all about twenty-five hundred men,—and arrived at the mouth of the Savannah, the latter part of December, and soon landed his troops. The American general, R. Howe, was posted in this place, at the head of about eight hundred militia and regulars, worn down by a fruitless expedition against Florida. He chose a judicious position to cover Savannah, but was out-generalled, surprised in camp, and routed, with a considerable loss of men and arms. The fort, with its contents, forty-eight pieces of cannon, twenty-three mortars, all the shipping, a large store of provisions, and the capital of the state, fell into the hands of the victors. The defenceless inhabitants were bayoneted in the streets, and the remnant of the troops escaped to South Carolina. About this time, Sunbury fell into the hands of General Prescott, who marched to Savannah, and took command of the royal army. The inhabitants were directed to lay down their arms, or use them in support of the royal cause.

On the 25th of September, General Lincoln was appointed to the command of the southern army, but he did not arrive at Charleston until the 4th of December. He was joined by Generals Ashe and Rutherford, with about two thousand North Carolina militia, destined to act in defence of South Carolina. As Georgia was the point of attack, Lincoln raised something less than a thousand men, and joined the remains of the troops under Colonel Elbert, establishing his head quarters at Purysburgh. Here he found himself at the head of but fourteen hundred men, and even this small force destitute of arms, cannon, tents, and almost of powder and lead. The militia of South Carolina were without discipline or subordination, and, on the 24th of

January, 1779, they had generally returned to their homes. About eleven hundred militia from North Carolina supplied their place, and the whole force was about twenty-four hundred. General Prescott had taken possession of Port Royal island, South Carolina; and General Moultrie, at the head of the Charleston militia, attacked the island, dislodged the enemy, and compelled the colonel to retire into Georgia, with much loss. He took post at Augusta, and, by fomenting divisions and encouraging insurrections, caused much distress. But a party from the district of Ninety-six, under Colonel Pickens, pursued the banditti, which they overtook, routed, killed, or dispersed, and their leader, Colonel Boyd, was slain. The remainder threw themselves on the clemency of the state. Seventy were tried, convicted, and sentenced to death; but the sentence was executed on five of the principals only, and the remainder were pardoned.



General Lincoln.

Lincoln determined to dislodge the enemy from Georgia, and directed General Williamson to take a strong position near Augusta, to watch the motions of Colonel Campbell;

and General Ashe was ordered to the support of Williamson, with about two thousand men. On receiving the intelligence of this junction, the British retired about fourteen miles down the river. Measures were concerted by the American generals, and the plan of operations settled.

On the 3d of March, Colonel Prevost gained the rear of the American camp by a circuitous march, and commenced a furious attack. The continentals advanced to the charge, to check the invaders; but the militia were panic-struck, and flight ensued. The regulars, under General Elbert, were cut to pieces, and the militia, under General Ashe, never returned. The Americans lost one hundred and fifty killed, and one hundred and sixty-two captured; the wounded not numbered. About four hundred and fifty rejoined General Lincoln. Georgia now belonged to the enemy, and a free communication was opened with the tories of South Carolina.

In this state of alarm, John Rutledge was appointed governor of the state, and to him and the council was given a dictatorial power. A large body of militia was assembled at Orangeburg, near the centre of the state, to act as might be required. Williamson sent parties into Georgia to distress and plunder the enemy. On this, Lincoln remarked to the governor, that the innocent and the guilty, the aged and infirm, women and children, would be equally exposed to the effects of this order. Lincoln was now reinforced at his camp, at Black Swamp, and advanced into Georgia, leaving a strong guard, under General Moultrie, at Purysburgh. Prescott permitted the Americans to advance one hundred and fifty miles, that he might surprise General Moultrie. Moultrie eluded the attack, by a change of position. Lincoln, learning the movements of Prescott, moved by forced marches in support of Moultrie, and to cover Charleston. The governor took alarm by the movements of Prescott, and destroyed the suburbs, that he might guard against the advance of the enemy. The neighbouring militia were called in to join his troops in defence of Charleston.

On the 11th of March, Prescott crossed the ferry, and

appeared before Charleston; on which day the Count Pulaski arrived, and entered into the defence of this city with spirit. The object of Prescott was to capture the town before Lincoln could arrive; and his operations were conducted with such vigor, that the civil authority sent out the following proposition: "South Carolina will remain in a state of neutrality till the close of the war, and then follow the fate of her neighbors, on condition the royal army withdraw." To which General Prescott replied: "The garrison are in arms, and they shall surrender prisoners of war." But, before General Prescott could accomplish anything of importance, Lincoln arrived, and the enemy withdrew to Beaufort, and thence to Georgia. Plunder and devastation marked their steps. Slaves, to the number of three thousand, were taken, and sent for sale to the West Indies.

An expedition was fitted out, by Sir Henry Clinton, under Sir George Collier and General Matthews, from New York, who took possession of Portsmouth, and the remains of Norfolk, in Virginia; in May, 1779. On the same day a detachment was sent to Suffolk, and destroyed provisions, naval stores, and vessels, leaving the town in ashes; and gentlemen's seats, as well as plantations, were burnt and ravaged. On the coast the same ravages were committed by the fleet. About one hundred and thirty vessels were destroyed or captured, with about three thousand hogsheads of tobacco.

CHAPTER VIII.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Tryon's marauding expedition to Connecticut—New Haven plundered—Barbarities of the British—Capture of Stony Point—Sullivan's expedition against the Indians—Exploits of Paul Jones—Failure of the expedition to the Penobscot—War in the south—Arrival of D'Estaing's fleet—Siege of Savannah—Repulse of the French and Americans—Death of Pulaski—Gallant exploit of Colonel White—The British evacuate Rhode Island—Clinton invades South Carolina—Siege of Charleston—Surrender of the town—Defeat of Colonel Busford at the Waxhaws—General Gates appointed to the command in the south—Partisan war of Marion and Sumter—Knyphausen's excursion to New Jersey—Arrival of a French fleet and army, under De Tiernay and Rochambeau—Lord Cornwallis in South Carolina—Battle of Camden—Disasters of the Americans—Cornwallis threatens North Carolina—Colonel Ferguson's expedition to the north—Defeat of the British at King's Mountain—Atrocities of the war—Imprisonment and escape of General Wadsworth.*

EARLY in 1779, Sir Henry Clinton had concerted measures with the tories and British under his command, to assume a general system of predatory war in America, and submitted his plans to the British ministry, who expressed their approbation. This plan soon reached the American commission, at Paris, and was communicated to Governor Trumbull, of Connecticut, on the 6th of April, 1779. Clinton detached General Tryon, formerly governor of New York, with two thousand six hundred land forces, protected by a squadron under Sir George Collier, and supported by General Garth, to begin their depredations in Connecticut. On the 4th of July, the armament moved into the sound, and the commanders issued their proclamation to the citizens of Connecticut, offering pardon and protection to all such as would return to their allegiance, but threatening ruin and destruction to all who should reject this over-

ture. On the morning of the 6th, Tryon landed his division at East Haven; Garth landed at the same time at West Haven, and proceeded directly to New Haven, and gave up the town to promiscuous pillage. The militia collected so fast on the next day, that the enemy abandoned the town in haste, burnt several stores on Long wharf, and embarked their troops. The infamous Tryon next proceeded to the plunder of East Haven, and then sailed for Fairfield. The town and vicinity were laid in ruins, and the enemy embarked for Norwalk, which was next laid in ashes. He then returned to New York. In this incursion, four houses for public worship, near one hundred dwellings, eighty barns, about thirty stores, seventeen shops, four mills, and five vessels were burnt; and, in addition to this destruction of property, the greatest acts of brutality were perpetrated. Women were insulted and abused, while their apparel was robbed, and desks, trunks, and closets were rifled.

The strong post of Stony Point, on the Hudson, had been taken by the British, and garrisoned with a formidable force. General Wayne was despatched on an expedition



Storming of Stony Point.

against it. He commenced his march on the 15th July, at noon; and, after having crossed the mountains, through

dangerous and difficult defiles, he approached the fort about eight of the same evening. Having reconnoitred the position of the enemy, the general put himself at the head of his brave troops, and, at twenty minutes past twelve precisely, on the night of the 16th, entered the fort with screwed bayonets, amidst a most tremendous fire of musket and grape, and carried the fortress without firing a gun. Lieutenant-Colonel Fleury entered the fort with his division, upon the opposite side, at the same time, and both parties met in the centre; but the garrison was spared and made prisoners of war, to the number of five hundred and forty-three. Wayne dismantled the fort, and brought off the cannon, stores, &c., agreeably to orders. Congress passed a vote of thanks to Washington, Wayne, and the officers and soldiers under their command, for the masterly exploit in the capture of Stony Point.

The English, having persuaded the Six Nations of Indians, the Oneidas excepted, to take up the hatchet against the United States, General Sullivan was sent with a detachment of from four to five thousand men to chastise them. He marched up the Susquehanna, and attacked them in their fortifications, which were well constructed. The resistance was obstinate, but they were compelled to yield, and took to flight. According to his instructions, their country was devastated, and one hundred and sixty thousand bushels of corn were consumed.

In naval affairs, the Americans had met with much success by means of their small privateers, which greatly annoyed the commerce of the British, and benefitted the colonists by the capture of many valuable prizes, not only of merchant ships, but also of store-ships and transports, laden with arms, ammunition and supplies for the British armies. The most famous among the American naval commanders was John Paul Jones, a native of Scotland, who had settled in Virginia previous to the breaking out of the revolution. He received the first appointment of lieutenant in the American navy, and was so successful in his early cruises with a small vessel, in 1776, that he was sent by congress to France the next year, where he

obtained a large vessel, and, in 1778, sailed for the coast of Scotland. Here he kept the country in a constant state of



Paul Jones.

alarm, captured Whitehaven, with two forts and twenty pieces of cannon, and burnt the shipping in the harbor. He returned to Brest with two hundred prisoners. In 1779, he put to sea again, in the frigate Bon Homme Richard, and, on the 23d of September, fought his celebrated action with the British frigate Serapis, off Flamborough Head, on the coast of England. The Serapis was much superior in strength to the Richard. This was the most desperate battle ever fought. The ships were grappled together, and the guns met muzzle to muzzle. In this position they lay, strewing the decks with carnage and destruction, about two hours. Both ships were frequently on fire, but the Serapis not less than ten or twelve times.

The American frigate Alliance was near, and attempted to coöperate in the action, with some good effect, until the darkness of the evening rendered it impossible to distinguish correctly, when she killed eleven men, and wounded

several others, on board the Bon Homme Richard. At this critical moment the Serapis struck, and closed the sanguinary scene. The Bon Homme Richard, at the close of the action, was so much of a wreck as to have seven feet of water in her hold, which rendered it necessary to remove the crew on board the Serapis, and the wounded on board the Pallas. On the 24th, her pumps were closely plied; but, on the 25th, she went down. Fortunately, no lives were lost. The Pallas engaged and took the Countess of Scarborough, at the same time, and Commodore Jones sailed with his prizes for the coast of Holland, and anchored off the Texel.

During the course of this year, the district of Maine was the scene of some military operations. A detachment of British forces from Halifax had taken possession of Castine, on the Penobscot, in 1779, and strongly fortified that port. This gave an alarm to the people of Massachusetts, and the government at Boston projected a scheme to expel them from the place. A body of militia was drafted and placed under the command of General Lovell. A fleet of nearly twenty small men-of-war and privateers, besides twenty-four transports, were collected, and an embargo for forty days was laid by the legislature of Massachusetts on all the shipping in the state, to obtain a supply of seamen. The whole undertaking was prosecuted by the government of Massachusetts, without the coöperation of the continental forces. In consequence of this, much delay attended the preparations, and the British received intelligence of the design in season to take effective measures for their defence. When the armament was ready for sailing from Boston, it lay wind-bound in Nantasket Roads for some days, and Colonel M'Lean, who commanded the British post on the Penobscot, received intelligence of the departure of the fleet from Boston, four days before its arrival in the bay. The British were posted on a peninsula in Penobscot Bay, and had thrown up an intrenchment on the isthmus. The part toward the river was steep and difficult of access, and was also defended by frigates and batteries, the principal battery being situated about the centre of the peninsula.

It is possible that even the raw militia which composed the land forces of the expedition might have succeeded in capturing the place, had the American commanders possessed the requisite talent for the business. Unfortunately, Lovell, their general, and Saltonstall, the commodore, were deficient both in skill and resolution. The troops were landed on the 28th of July, and should have been led immediately to storm the British works. Lovell, on the contrary, summoned the garrison to surrender; which being refused, he spent two days in erecting a battery. The British improved this time, and what followed during an ineffectual cannonading, for finishing and strengthening their works, till they were out of apprehension of being stormed. The militia soon became tired of these tedious proceedings, and manifested much anxiety to return to their homes. Lovell, in consequence, wrote to the government of Massachusetts, who applied to General Gates, then commanding at Providence, for a reinforcement of four hundred continental troops. This request was granted, and a regiment was ordered to the Penobscot. Lovell waited its arrival in order to storm the enemy's works. But it was already too late. Sir George Collier, who commanded the British fleet at Sandy Hook, had received information, by a Boston paper, of the expedition then on foot; for no secrecy appears to have been observed, during the preparations, as to the design of the whole. He put to sea immediately, on the 3d of August, and before the reinforcement had proceeded half way, he appeared with his squadron in Penobscot Bay. His unexpected arrival brought the Americans at once between two fires. They abandoned their batteries and reembarked. The fleet was drawn up in a crescent across the river, as if to offer the enemy battle, but in reality to check the advance of the British, by a show of resistance, until the transports could escape up the river and land the troops on the western shore. But the British commander was too conscious of his own strength to permit this stratagem to succeed. As they approached, the Americans made all sail in retreat. The British pursued, and the American ships were all taken or destroyed. The militia

escaped on shore, but found themselves in an uncultivated wilderness, without provisions or guides. For many days they roamed through these gloomy and pathless deserts, losing several of their number, who perished in the woods, till, exhausted with famine and fatigue, they at length reached the settlements. Such was the disastrous issue of an enterprise which might have succeeded under the conduct of skilful and energetic leaders.

We shall now return to the operations in the southern states. Instead of pursuing General Prescott in his retreat to Georgia, General Lincoln devoted all his powers and strength to the defence of Charleston against any further attack. After learning the success of D'Estaing in the West Indies, Governor Rutledge, General Lincoln, and the French consul, wrote to the count, inviting him to coöperate with the Americans in the reduction of Savannah. The invitation was accepted, and, on the first of September, 1779, he arrived off Charleston, with a fleet of twenty sail of the line, two of fifty guns, and eleven frigates. A British eighty-gun ship and three frigates were taken by surprise. On the arrival of the French, Lincoln marched with all his troops for Savannah. The fleet sailed to join him; the French troops were landed in ten or twelve days, and D'Estaing summoned the town to surrender to the arms of the king of France. Lincoln remonstrated against this, as the Americans were acting in concert. The count persisted, and General Prescott demanded a cessation of hostilities for twenty-four hours, to deliberate, which was granted. During this time, seven or eight hundred British troops arrived from Beaufort, and Prescott determined to defend the town to the last extremity. The count saw his error, and consulted Lincoln, and they united their efforts to carry the town by a regular siege.

On the 23d of September the allies broke ground, and commenced their operations. On the 4th of October, they opened their batteries, and began to play upon the town with nine mortars, and fifty-four pieces of cannon, which continued four or five days without intermission, but without any apparent effect. On the morning of the 8th, the

enemy sallied out, and attempted to set fire to the abattis; but the materials were green, the weather moist, and the attempt failed. General Prescott next requested that the women and children might be removed; but this was refused, and the allies resolved to carry the town by storm. On the morning of the 9th, the assault commenced. The attack was well concerted, and bravely executed, by the allies; yet the fire of the enemy was so destructive, that the troops gave way, after having planted the French and American standards upon the British redoubts. At this eventful moment the brave Count Pulaski fell, mortally wounded, at the head of his legion, when charging the enemy in their rear, in the full career of victory. The allies supported this desperate conflict fifty-five minutes, under a deadly fire from the enemy's batteries, and then made good their retreat, with the loss of six hundred and thirty-seven French, and two hundred and thirty-four continentals, killed and wounded. The defence of the place was well conducted by General Prescott, and he certainly deserved the applause of his king and country. In consideration of the bravery of Count Pulaski, congress resolved that a monument be erected to his memory.

During the siege of Savannah, an event occurred honorable to an enterprising individual, and which should not be forgotten. A captain of Colonel Delancey's battalion of refugee troops, with about one hundred royal regulars, were posted about twenty-five miles from Savannah. Colonel John White, of the Georgia line, was desirous of capturing this party. His whole force, however, consisted of only *six volunteers*, including his own servant. It was only by a well-concerted stratagem that he could hope for success. In the night, he kindled a number of fires in different places, and exhibited the appearance of a large encampment. Having arranged his plan, he summoned the captain to surrender, threatening his party with entire destruction, by a superior force, in case of a refusal. Deceived by the appearances, he immediately signified his readiness to comply with the demand, and made no defence. Captain White had now the satisfaction to see

the whole of the prisoners, amounting to one hundred and forty, divest themselves of their arms, and submit to himself and six volunteers. The prisoners were safely conducted by the captors a distance of twenty-five miles, during the night, to the nearest American post.

D'Estaing embarked his troops, and seven ships were ordered for the Chesapeake, one of which only arrived at the place of destination, the fleet having been dispersed by a storm. The remainder steered for the West Indies. Meantime, Sir Henry Clinton, expecting an attack on New York by the French fleet, ordered General Pigot to evacuate Rhode Island, which order was accomplished, and the troops repaired to head-quarters at New York. Near the close of December, as the coast was still clear, Sir Henry planned an expedition to South Carolina. He embarked seven thousand five hundred troops, under convoy of Admiral Arbuthnot, and about the last of January, 1780, he appeared off Charleston. As one ordnance ship and several transports had been wrecked and lost on the passage, and several taken by the Americans, he was not prepared to effect a landing until February 11th, when he landed on the south side of John's Island, thirty miles from the city. But this expedition had been foreseen by congress, and preparations were made to meet it. Three continental frigates were to sail for the port, and a trusty officer was despatched to the Havana, in order to obtain ships and troops for the defence, promising, as a return, two thousand men to coöperate with the Spaniards in the reduction of St. Augustine.

To the British force of seven or eight thousand men, General Lincoln could oppose but two thousand four hundred, near half of whom were militia; yet with them he hoped to defend the city. The continental frigates arrived, and, landing their crews, guns, and equipments, prepared to act on the defensive. The British admiral entered the harbor with all the ships which could pass the bar. On the 10th of April, Charleston was summoned to surrender, which the commander refused. On the 12th, Clinton opened his batteries on the town, and his fire was promptly

returned during eight successive days. On the 18th, a reinforcement arrived from New York, of three thousand men, and the besiegers approached within three hundred yards of the American lines. A council of war was called by General Lincoln, at which it was made evident that a retreat would be attended with many distressing inconveniences, if not altogether impracticable, and Lincoln determined to continue the defence. But, shortly after, he again summoned another council of war, and at the eventful moment, the flag of the enemy was seen to wave on the walls of Fort Moultrie. Sullivan's Island fell into the hands of the enemy on the 6th of May.



Sir Henry Clinton.

Clinton pushed his approaches, and, on the 8th, he opened a correspondence with Lincoln; renewed his summons, offered terms, &c., and threatened to renew hostilities at eight o'clock the next day. The eventful hour arrived, and awful, solemn silence ensued; neither party fired a gun; all was anxious suspense for an hour, yet neither party moved a proposition. At nine, the besieged opened

a fire upon the enemy, who, in their turn, opened their batteries upon the town, which threatened to bury it in ruins. The town was repeatedly on fire, and many houses were burnt; at the same time the besiegers advanced their last parallel to the distance of twenty yards, and prepared for a general assault by sea and land. The critical moment had now arrived. The people, by their leaders, called on General Lincoln to renew the conference, and make terms with the enemy. The lieutenant-governor and council enforced the request. The militia threw down their arms, and all was submission. Lincoln renewed the conference with the British commander, and accepted his terms. Sir Henry complied, and the next day the garrison, with all such as had borne arms, marched out, and became prisoners of war on the 12th of May. The French consul, and the subjects of France and Spain, were, with their houses and effects, to be protected; but they themselves were to be considered prisoners of war.

At this time, Colonel Buford was advancing through the upper country, with a party of three hundred Virginians, to the relief of Charleston. When the British Colonel Tarleton learnt the position of this party, he advanced with about seven hundred cavalry and mounted infantry, by a forced march of one hundred and five miles in fifty-four hours, and surprised them at the Waxhaws, and summoned the colonel to surrender. A parley ensued; and during the conference, Tarleton's men, surrounded the party, and cut them to pieces, while begging for quarters. Thirty-seven only were made prisoners, and the remainder were either killed or wounded in the butchery. Lord Cornwallis highly applauded the act, and recommended Colonel Tarleton specially to the favor of his sovereign. With this blow, the state of South Carolina was subdued, and a regular British government was organized.

General Gates, then in Virginia, was appointed to succeed General Lincoln in the southern command. Georgia and South Carolina were now wholly subdued, and the enemy saw his way clear to advance into North Carolina. To counteract these movements of Tarleton, and keep up

the spirits of the people, Generals Marion and Sumter, at the head of their flying parties, kept up a system of predatory warfare, that greatly harassed and annoyed the enemy. So sharp and desperate were their attacks, that, in one instance, General Sumter reduced the Prince of Wales' regiment, from the number of two hundred and seventy-eight, to nine. While the brave Sumter was thus harassing the enemy, and animating the zeal of the inhabitants, a considerable force was traversing the middle states southward, for the relief of the British troops.

Washington with his army still lay before New York. On the 6th of June, 1780, the British generals, Knyphausen, Robertson, Tryon and Sterling, crossed from Staten Island into New Jersey, at the head of five thousand regulars. On the 7th, they advanced to Connecticut Farms, distant about five miles, in quest of the Rev. James Caldwell, whose patriotic zeal had rendered him peculiarly obnoxious; wantonly shot his wife in her own house, then burnt the house and meeting-house, with about a dozen other dwelling-houses. The royal army next attempted to advance to Springfield, but were checked by Colonel Dayton, supported by General Maxwell, and they fled in disorder. Washington considered this movement as a feint, to open the way for an attack upon West Point. He accordingly detached General Greene, at the head of a strong party, to watch the motions of the enemy. Washington, learning from Greene that Springfield was their object of destination, sent forward a detachment to support Greene. The enemy advanced upon Springfield at five in the morning of the 23d of June. Greene disputed every pass valiantly, but obstinate bravery was constrained to yield to superior numbers. Greene retired to the high grounds, and the enemy gained the town, which they destroyed. The commander-in-chief, sensible of the worth and talents of General Greene, returned the thanks of himself and his suffering country to him and the men under his command. But this skirmish did not pass off so lightly. The militia rallied in considerable force, and drove the enemy to Staten Island, in a precipitate retreat.

La Fayette, who had been to France on leave of absence, now returned to America. He had negotiated for supplies from the French government, and an armament was soon to follow him. On the 10th of July, a French fleet arrived at Newport, Rhode Island, consisting of two ships of eighty guns, one of seventy-four, four of sixty-four, two frigates of forty, a cutter of twenty, an hospital ship pierced for sixty-four, one bomb-ship, and thirty-two transports, under the command of the Chevalier de Ternay. They brought regiments of land forces, together with the legion of De Luzerne, and a battalion of artillery ; in the whole, about six thousand, under the command of Lieutenant-General Count de Rochambeau.

General Heath received the count at his landing, and put him and his troops in possession of the island, where they were handsomely accommodated. The general assembly, then in session at Newport, by their special committee, presented the count with a complimentary address; to which the count replied with assurances that a much greater force would soon follow him, and that his whole powers would be devoted to the service of the United States. "The French troops," added the count, "are under the strictest discipline, and, acting under the orders of General Washington, will live with the Americans as brethren. I am highly sensible of the marks of respect shown me by the assembly, and beg leave to assure them that, as brethren, not only my life, but the lives of the troops under my command, are devoted to their service." La Fayette witnessed these respectful attentions to his countrymen, and, in honor to our French allies, Washington directed, in his general orders, that black and white cockades should be worn as a compliment.

After the fall of Charleston, Clinton committed the care of the southern states to Lord Cornwallis, with four thousand men, and returned to New York. The arrival of the French fleet at Rhode Island, gave Admiral Arbuthnot considerable alarm. His whole force amounted to but four ships of the line. But he was joined by Admiral Graves, with six line-of-battle ships, and felt himself secure from

attack in New York. With this reinforcement Clinton concerted an attack on the French fleet at Newport, and immediately embarked eight thousand troops. The fleet put into Huntington Bay, on Long Island. The country was alarmed, and the militia turned out in force. But Washington made a diversion, by moving his whole force down to Kingsbridge, and threatening New York. The plan succeeded, and the British returned to New York in haste.

In the south, Lord Cornwallis, having settled the government of South Carolina, prepared to subdue the rebellious spirit of the North Carolinians. General Gates, with a very small army, moved across Deep river, on the 27th of July, 1780, to watch the motions of the enemy. On the 6th of August, he was joined by General Caswell, at the head of a fine body of North Carolina militia, who were in good spirits, but under bad discipline; and he encamped at the Cross Roads, on his way to Camden. On the 13th, he moved forward his army to Clermont, where he was joined by Brigadier-General Stevens, with about seven hundred Virginia militia. An express also arrived, informing him that Colonel Sumter would join him at Camden, with a detachment of South Carolina militia, and that an escort of clothing, ammunition and stores was on its way from Charleston to Camden, for the use of the garrison posted there. Gates immediately detached Lieutenant-Colonel Woodford, at the head of the Maryland line, consisting of one hundred infantry, a company of artillery, with two brass field-pieces, and about three hundred North Carolina militia, to join Sumter, reduce the forts, and intercept the convoy. Gates prepared to support Sumter with his whole force, of about four thousand.

But Cornwallis had anticipated this movement, and entered Camden the day previous, designing to attack Gates in his camp at Clermont. Both generals put their armies in motion early in the evening of the 15th of August, and their advance parties met in the woods of Camden, about two o'clock in the morning of the 16th. A conflict ensued; the Americans gave way in some disorder, but

they soon recovered, and a skirmishing continued through the night. When morning appeared, both generals made their dispositions to contest the field. An action commenced; the regular troops were firm, but the militia, being overpowered by the British bayonets, gave way, and dispersed as they fled. The victory was complete, and the American general and his regulars were abandoned to their fate. Several parties of militia, who were advancing to join the army, turned their arms against the fugitives, and thus completed the overthrow. The pursuit continued for more than twenty miles, and the road was strewed with the fragments of this routed army, together with the wounded, the dead, and the dying. A party of horse, supported by two hundred infantry, at the distance of more than eighty miles from the scene of action, upon the first intelligence, abandoned their ground, and sought safety by flight. The brave Baron de Kalb fell in this action, much and deservedly lamented. He was at the head of the Maryland troops, and second in command. Congress ordered that a monument should be raised to his memory at Annapolis.

The British, however, reaped no permanent advantage from their victory at Camden. Their losses and want of supplies, in a sickly season, hindered them from following up the stroke. At length, in September, Cornwallis took up his march from Camden, towards Charlottetown, in North Carolina. To hold South Carolina in check, and to preserve the way open to retreat thither, if necessary, he had not contented himself with leaving a strong garrison in Charleston. Several detachments were distributed upon different points of the frontier. Colonel Brown was posted at Augusta, Cruger at Ninety-six, and Trumbull at Camden. Cornwallis then advanced with the main body of his army towards Columbia, while Tarleton, with the greater part of the cavalry, passed the Waterce, and ascended along its eastern bank. The two corps were to re-unite at Charlottetown, where they arrived about the last of September. Cornwallis, however, soon perceived that he had undertaken a far more arduous enterprise than it had seemed at first. The inhabitants were not only hostile, but most

vigilant and audacious in attacking detached parties, and cutting off the British supplies: hence the royalists could not sally into the open country, except in strong bodies. The American colonel, Sumter, always enterprising and prompt to seize any occasion for infesting the British, seemed to be everywhere at once upon the frontiers of the two Carolinas. Another partisan corps, of similar character, had just been formed, under the direction of Colonel Marion. At length, Cornwallis received the alarming intelligence, that Colonel Clarke had assembled a numerous body of mountaineers, from the upper parts of the Carolinas, a most hardy and warlike race of men. The British thus found themselves surrounded by clouds of enemies, and more in the situation of a besieged army, than in that of troops marching upon an offensive expedition.

Colonel Ferguson had been detached by Cornwallis to the frontiers of North Carolina, to encourage the tories to take up arms. A considerable number had repaired to his standard, but the greater part of them were the most profligate and ferocious of men. Believing any enormity justified by the sanction of their chief, they perpetrated the most atrocious and wanton cruelties, massacring indiscriminately almost every person that fell in their way, and laying waste the country with fire. These horrid excesses inflamed the coldest hearts with the desire of vengeance. The mountaineers were transported with fury, and descended into the low country in torrents, arming themselves with whatever weapons came within their reach, and foaming with rage at the name of Ferguson. With loud cries they called upon their chiefs to lead them upon the track of this bloody monster, that they might cause him to expiate the ravages and slaughter with which he had marked his career. Each of them carried, besides his arms, a wallet and a blanket. They slept on the naked earth in the open air. The water of the rivulet slaked their thirst, and they fed on the cattle which they drove along with them, or the game they hunted in the forest. Thus they ranged the country, under seven or eight different leaders, everywhere demanding Ferguson with loud exclamations,

and at every step swearing to exterminate him from the face of the earth. At length their pursuing efforts brought them in sight of their enemy.

On the line which divides the two Carolinas, near the head waters of the Santee, is a woody height with a circular base, called King's Mountain, which commands a wide plain surrounding it. Ferguson was found posted upon this height, waiting the approach of his enemies, whom he confidently expected to defeat and disperse, should they venture to attack him. The mountaineers were too thirsty for vengeance to practise any delay in the assault. They fell upon his troops at once, drove in the advanced guard, and then, forming in several columns, rushed forward to attack the main body on the summit of the mountain. The attack and the defence were equally obstinate; the mountaineers, some from behind trees, and others under the cover of the rocks, maintained a brisk fire. At length a body of them arrived upon the brow of the eminence. The British repulsed them with the bayonet, but were the next moment attacked by another body which came up on another side. The bayonets were turned upon the new assailants, who receded in their turn, till the arrival of a third body gave the British a fresh occupation. In this manner, the battle was kept up for an hour, when the Americans summoned Ferguson to surrender. He obstinately refused, and the battle was renewed and continued till Ferguson was slain sword in hand. The summit of the mountain was now completely overrun by the Americans; and his successor in the command, finding further resistance hopeless, advised his men to lay down their arms, which was done. The carnage had been dreadful; the killed and wounded amounting to five or six hundred on the part of the British. Two hundred escaped during the action. Eleven hundred prisoners and fifteen hundred stand of arms were taken. The loss of the Americans was trifling, with the exception of that of Colonel Williams, one of their leaders. The British prisoners were well treated, but the utmost severity was displayed toward the loyalists, several of whom were hung on the field of battle, as a repri-

sal for the execution of a number of the patriots who had been put to death in a similar manner by the loyalists at Camden, Ninety-six and Augusta.

The effects of this victory were most important. The loss of the whole of Ferguson's corps was a severe blow to the British. The loyalists no longer manifested the same zeal to join the army of Cornwallis, and he found his forces diminishing. He was, in consequence, compelled to relinquish for a time the invasion of North Carolina, where the American cause was decidedly in the ascendant. He therefore resolved to maintain himself in South Carolina till he could receive reinforcements. In November, General Sumter defeated the British in two actions at Broad river and Blackstock; and with these successes the Americans closed the year 1780 in the Carolinas.

Anecdotes of individual adventure and suffering often display, in a much more lively and impressive manner, the nature of hostile transactions, than general narratives of greater events. Among numerous others, we may select the capture of General Wadsworth, who commanded a body of Massachusetts state troops at Camden, in Maine, in 1780. The time for which the men had enlisted having expired, Wadsworth dismissed them to their homes, reserving only six as a guard. A neighboring inhabitant communicated the knowledge of this to the officer who commanded the British forces at Penobscot, and a body of twenty-five soldiers was secretly despatched to make Wadsworth prisoner. They landed within four miles of the general's quarters, concealed themselves in the house of a Methodist preacher,—a professed friend to him, but in reality a traitor,—and late at night suddenly attacked his house. The sentinel gave the alarm, and a soldier running out, the assailants got possession of the door, and entered the house. They soon overpowered the guard and became masters of all the premises, except the room in which the general with his wife and another lady had barricaded themselves. He had a pair of pistols, a blunderbuss and a musket, which he employed with great dexterity, being determined to defend his life to the last moment.

With the pistols and musket, which he discharged several times, he defended the window and door of the room, and drove away the enemy who were attempting to enter. He next resorted to his bayonet, with which he kept them at bay till he received a ball through his left arm, when he was forced to surrender. The house exhibited striking evidences of the severity of the conflict. Not a window had escaped destruction; the doors were all broken down; two of the rooms were set on fire, the floors covered with blood, and on one of them lay a brave old soldier, dangerously wounded, and begging for death that he might be released from misery. The anxiety of the general's wife was inexpressible, and his own was greatly increased by the uncertainty of the fate of his little son, only five years old, who had been exposed to all the danger from the firing into the house; he, however, escaped unhurt.

Wadsworth was at first exposed to great insult and abuse from his captors, who were enraged against him for his success in baffling their designs. He was marched off to the British quarters, where he received more civil treatment, but was kept in close confinement. He requested to be exchanged or sent home on parole, but this was refused, and shortly after he learned that, on the return of a privateer then on a cruise, he was to be sent to England. Major Burton, another American prisoner, was confined in company with Wadsworth, and they resolved to attempt their escape. They were confined in a grated room in the officers' barracks within the fort. The walls of the fortress, exclusive of the depth of the ditch, were twenty feet high, and guarded with paling and chevaux de frise. Two sentinels kept watch over the prisoners, and all the issues of the fort were beset by guards. An escape seemed impossible.

By great industry, seconded by the utmost caution, they succeeded in cutting through the wooden partition of their room, artfully concealing their work at the end of every day's labor. At the end of three weeks, the work was so far completed that an opening might be made whenever a favorable moment for escape offered. On the evening of

the 18th of June, a heavy storm of rain, with thunder and lightning, afforded them this opportunity. Under cover of the darkness of the night and the noise of the rain and thunder, they succeeded in breaking out of the room, traversed the passages of the building, and reached the wall of the fort. Here they were obliged to creep along among the sentry-boxes at the moment when the relief was shifting sentinel. Having gained a favorable spot on the top of the wall, they let themselves down by the rope which they had made by cutting their blankets into strips. They landed in safety, and groped their way in the thick darkness among the rocks, stumps, and bushes, till they reached the cove, which was a mile in breadth. By great good fortune the tide was out, leaving the water only three feet deep. Wadsworth, who had lost his companion in the dark, crossed the water in safety, and, proceeding through the woods till about seven miles from the fort, had the good fortune to rejoin him. It was now necessary to cross the Penobscot river, which could not be forded, and, very fortunately, they found a canoe, with oars, on the bank, in which they immediately embarked. While on the river, they discovered a British barge, which had been sent from the fort in pursuit of them; but, by hard rowing, and taking advantage of their knowledge of the windings of the stream, they escaped the pursuit, and reached the western shore in safety. After wandering in the wilderness for several days and nights, exposed to extreme fatigue, and with no other sustenance than a little dry bread and meat, which they carried in their pockets, they reached the settlements on the river St. George, where they were safe from the pursuit of their enemies.

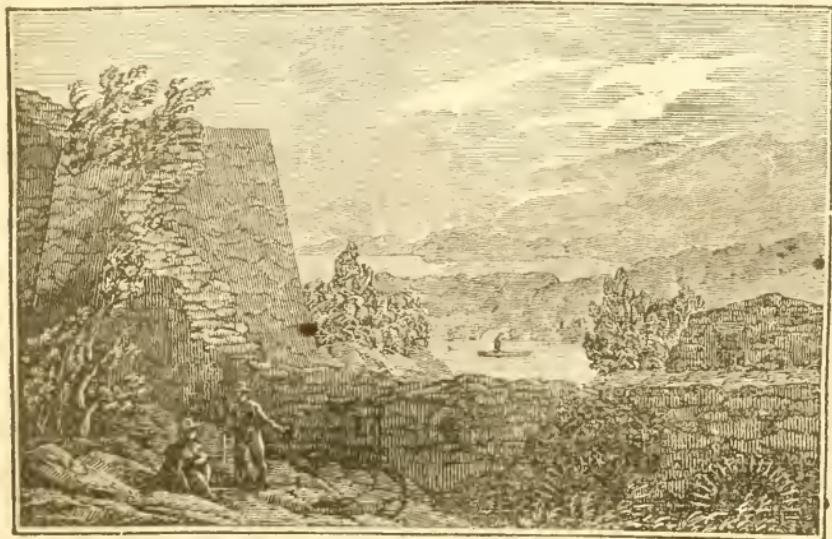
CHAPTER IX.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Treason of Arnold—Capture and execution of André—Adventures of Sergeant-Major Champe—Arnold's invasion of Virginia—His marauding expedition to Connecticut—Capture of New London—Catastrophe of Fort Griswold—Revolt of the Pennsylvania line—Foreign relations of the United States—Affairs in Florida and Louisiana—Capture of Mr. Laurens—Mission of John Adams to Holland.*

DURING the year 1780, an occurrence took place without a parallel in American history, and which was near leading the affairs of the colonists to the brink of ruin. This was the treason of General Arnold, who deserted the American cause, sold himself to the enemies of his country, and engaged in the British service. He was a man without principle from the beginning; and, before his treachery was discovered, he had sunk a character, raised by impetuous valor attended with success, without being the possessor of any other intrinsic merit. He had accumulated a fortune by peculation, and squandered it discreditably, long before he formed the plan to betray his country. Montreal he had plundered in haste; but in Philadelphia he went to work deliberately to seize everything he could lay hands on, which had been the property of the disaffected party, and converted it to his own use. He entered into contracts for speculating and privateering, and at the same time made exorbitant demands on congress for compensation for his services. In his speculations he was disappointed by the common failure of such adventures; in the other attempt he was rebuffed and mortified by the commissioners appointed to examine his accounts, who curtailed a great part of his demands as unjust, and for which he deserved severe reprobation. Involved in debt

by his extravagance, and reproached by his creditors, his resentment wrought him up to a determination of revenge for this public ignominy.

The command of the important post at West Point, on the Hudson, had been given to Arnold. No one suspected, notwithstanding the censures that had fallen upon him, that he had a heart base enough treacherously to betray his military trust. Who made the first advances to negotiation, is uncertain ; but it appeared, on a scrutiny, that Arnold had proposed overtures to Clinton, characteristic of his own baseness, and not very honorable to the British commander, if viewed apart from the usages of war, which too frequently sanction the blackest crimes. His treacherous proposals were listened to, and Clinton authorized Major André, his adjutant-general, a young officer of great integrity and worth, to hold a personal and secret conference with the traitor. André and Arnold had



Old Fort Putnam, West Point.

kept up a friendly correspondence on some trivial matters, previous to their personal interview. Washington having been called by urgent business to Hartford, the conspirators considered this a good occasion for the accomplishment of their design. A meeting was agreed upon between

Arnold and André. To effect this purpose, the British sloop of war *Vulture* moved up the Hudson to a convenient spot not far from West Point, and, on the 21st of September, André landed from her and passed the night on shore in secret conference with Arnold. The dawn coming on before they had concluded their deliberations, André was concealed in the house of an American, named Smith, who was secretly a tory. The following night he attempted to return to the *Vulture*, but the boatmen refused to take him on board, as she had shifted her position in consequence of the shot fired at her from the shore. It became necessary for him to take a land journey to New York. He disguised himself in Smith's clothes, having previously worn his regimentals, and, with a horse and passport, under the name of John Anderson, furnished him by Arnold, set out on his way down the river. He passed several guards and posts of the Americans, and already imagined himself out of danger, when accident, combined with his own want of caution, threw him unexpectedly into their hands.



Capture of André.

Three of the American militia, named John Paulding.

David Williams and Isaac Van Wert, chanced to be reconnoitring the country in the neighborhood of Tarrytown, a village not far from the British posts, when André was passing through that place. One of them presented his musket and commanded him to stand. André, instead of producing his passport, most inconsiderately declared himself a British officer, and requested not to be detained, as he had important business. They ordered him to dismount; on which he exhibited Arnold's passport; but the militia men, being suspicious that something was wrong, took him aside among the bushes and proceeded to search him. They found papers concealed in his boots, and at once pronounced him a spy. André now discovered, for the first time, that he was in the hands of his enemies. He offered the men his gold watch, horse, and one hundred guineas, to be released. They replied that ten thousand guineas would not bribe them; and immediately carried him off to Colonel Jameson, who commanded the advance post.

On examining André's papers, they were found to contain, in the hand-writing of Arnold, the most exact accounts relative to the American forces, their numbers, equipments and magazines, the garrison of West Point, the various military positions, and the best modes of attacking them. Jameson was so dull a man that these overwhelming proofs never caused him to suspect Arnold's treachery. He sent the papers to General Washington, and at the same time despatched an express to Arnold, acquainting him that *Anderson* was taken, with his papers. Instead of keeping André in close custody, he sent him also to Arnold; and these two conspirators would have made their escape together, but for the presence of mind of Major Tallmadge, the second in command under Jameson, who, suspecting the treason of Arnold, prevailed upon his colonel to bring back the prisoner, before he had reached West Point. Arnold, the moment he received the letter announcing the capture of *Anderson*, sprang up from the table at which he was seated at breakfast, ran down to the shore, and, throwing himself into a boat, rowed on board the *Vulture*. Thus the author of this base scheme of treachery escaped, and

left the unfortunate instrument of his treason to expiate the crime with his life.

As soon as André found no hopes of escape remained for himself, he made a virtue of necessity, and announced himself as the adjutant-general of the British army. The whole plot was thus apparent. The public was struck with amazement. Nobody had ever suspected Arnold capable of such a deed of monstrous villainy. The officers of the American army were in doubt whom they should trust, and Washington was filled with anxiety lest the plot should have extensive ramifications. After much investigation, however, it was satisfactorily ascertained that Arnold had no accomplices, and a sentiment of pious gratitude was felt throughout the country, at the happy providence which had saved the nation in this perilous conjuncture.

The traitor Arnold, immediately on his arrival on board the *Vulture*, had the effrontery to write a letter to Washington, declaring that he abandoned the cause of the revolution out of pure *patriotism!* and declaiming against the ingratitude of the country, which had not rewarded him according to his deserts,—as if the American people had mountains of gold to heap upon him. He requested that his wife might be sent to him; and, in a second letter, no less insolent, demanded the release of André. Mrs. Arnold was allowed to join her husband, but André was retained and put upon his trial before a court-martial, as a spy. André, disdaining all subterfuge and evasion, and studying only to place his character in a fair light, voluntarily confessed many facts which he might have kept secret. He made no attempt to palliate anything relating to himself, while he concealed with scrupulous nicety whatever might endanger the safety of others. The court were extremely struck with his candor and magnanimity, and showed how much they felt for his perilous situation. But, after a full examination of the circumstances, they declared, unanimously, that Major André, having been taken in disguise, within the American lines, ought to be considered a spy from the enemy, and, conformably to the laws of war and the usage of nations, he ought to suffer death. Sir Henry

Clinton made the most unwearied efforts to procure the release of André, but his arguments were entirely without weight, and his appeals to the humanity of Washington were judged to proceed with a very ill grace from the man under whose authority were perpetrated the horrors of the Jersey prison-ship.



Major André.

André was hanged as a spy, at Tappaan, on the banks of the Hudson, on the 2d of October, 1780. The fortitude, equanimity and gentle deportment which he exhibited on the occasion, touched the hearts of the spectators. "Bear witness," said he, "that I die like a brave man." Thus perished, in the prime of life, an accomplished and amiable man, who was esteemed and beloved wherever he was known. The stern rules of military discipline, and the safety of the country, allowed no mitigation of his hard fate, which called forth the sympathies both of his friends and enemies. They thought only of his youth, accomplishments and amiable character, and were willing to overlook that he was rash and presumptuous, and had engaged in a desperate design which he had not the skill to accomplish.

After the capture and conviction of André, Washington conceived the project of capturing Arnold, then in New York, and releasing André. He sent for Major Lee to his quarters, to consult with him on the subject, and procure a man for the dangerous enterprise. "I have sent for you," said Washington, "in the expectation that you have some one in your corps who is willing to undertake a delicate and hazardous project. Whoever comes forward will confer great obligations upon me personally, and, in behalf of the United States, I will reward him amply. No time is to be lost; he must proceed, if possible, to-night. I intend to seize Arnold, and save André." Major Lee named a sergeant-major of his corps, by the name of Champe,—a native of Virginia,—a man full of bone and muscle, with a countenance grave, thoughtful, and taciturn,—of tried courage, and inflexible perseverance. Champe was sent for by Lee, and the plan proposed. This was, for him to desert—to escape to New York—to appear friendly to the enemy—to watch Arnold, and, upon some fit opportunity, with the assistance of some one whom Champe could trust, to seize him, and conduct him to a place on the river, appointed, where boats should be in readiness to bear them away.

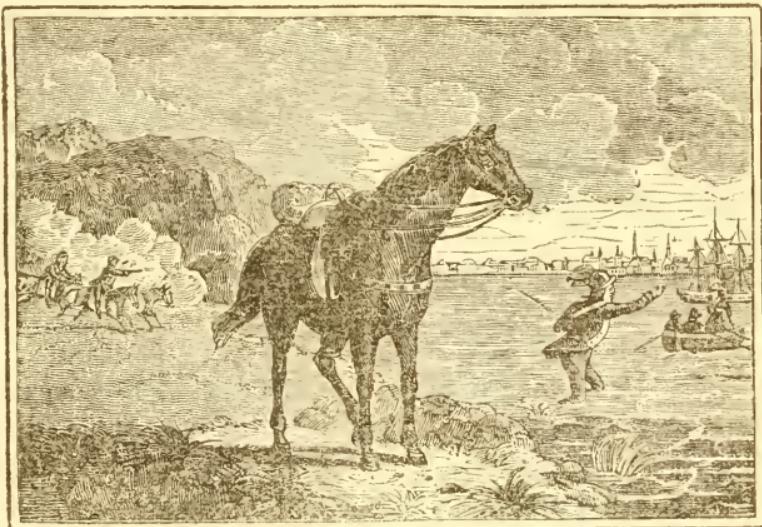
Champe listened to the plan attentively; but, with the spirit of a man of honor and integrity, replied—"that it was not danger nor difficulty that deterred him from immediately accepting the proposal, but the *ignominy of desertion, and the hypocrisy of enlisting with the enemy!*" To these objections Lee replied, that, although he would appear to desert, yet, as he obeyed the call of his commander-in-chief, his departure could not be considered as criminal, and that, if he suffered in reputation for a time, the matter would one day be explained to his credit. As to the second objection, it was urged, that to bring such a man as Arnold to justice,—loaded with guilt as he was,—and to save André,—so young, so accomplished, so beloved,—to achieve so much good in the cause of his country, was more than sufficient to balance a wrong, existing only in appearance.

The objections of Champe were at length surmounted,

and he accepted the service. It was now eleven o'clock at night. With his instructions in his pocket, the sergeant returned to camp, and, taking his cloak, valise, and orderly-book, drew his horse from the picket, and mounted, putting himself upon fortune. Scarcely had half an hour elapsed, before Captain Carnes, the officer of the day, waited upon Lee, who was vainly attempting to rest, and informed him that one of the patrol had fallen in with a dragoon, who, being challenged, put spurs to his horse and escaped. Lee, hoping to conceal the flight of Champe, or at least to delay pursuit, complained of fatigue, and told the captain that the patrol had probably mistaken a countryman for a dragoon. Carnes, however, was not thus to be quieted; and he withdrew to assemble his corps. On examination, it was found that Champe was absent. The captain now returned, and acquainted Lee with the discovery, adding, that he had detached a party to pursue the deserter, and begged the major's written orders. After making as much delay as practicable without exciting suspicion, Lee delivered his orders—in which he directed the party to take Champe if possible. "Bring him alive," said he, "that he may suffer in the presence of the army; but kill him if he resists, or if he escapes after being taken."

A shower of rain fell soon after Champe's departure, which enabled the pursuing dragoons to take the trail of his horse,—his shoes, in common with those of the horses of the army, being made in a peculiar form, and each having a private mark, which was to be seen in the path. Middleton, the leader of the pursuing party, left the camp a few minutes past twelve, so that Champe had the start of but little more than an hour—a period by far shorter than had been contemplated. During the night, the dragoons were often delayed in the necessary halts to examine the road; but, on the coming of morning, the impression of the horse's shoes was so apparent, that they pressed on with rapidity. Some miles above Bergen,—a village three miles north of New York, on the opposite side of the Hudson,—on ascending a hill, Champe was descried, not more than

half a mile distant. Fortunately, Champe descried his pursuers at the same moment, and, conjecturing their object, put spurs to his horse, with the hope of escape. By taking a different road, Champe was, for a time, lost sight of—but, on approaching the river, he was again descried. Aware of his danger, he now lashed his valise, containing his clothes and orderly-book, to his shoulders, and prepared himself to plunge into the river, if necessary. Swift was his flight, and swift the pursuit. Middleton and his party were within a few hundred yards, when Champe threw himself from his horse and plunged into the river, calling



Adventure of Sergeant-Major Champe.

aloud upon some British galleys, at no great distance, for help. A boat was instantly despatched to the sergeant's assistance, and a fire commenced upon the pursuers. Champe was taken on board, and soon after carried to New York, with a letter from the captain of the galley, stating the past scene, all of which he had witnessed. The pursuers, having recovered the sergeant's horse and cloak, returned to camp, where they arrived about three o'clock the next day. On their appearance with the well-known horse, the soldiers made the air resound with the acclamations that the scoundrel was killed. The agony of Lee,

for a moment, was past description, lest the faithful and intrepid Champe had fallen. But the truth soon relieved his fears, and he repaired to Washington to impart to him the success, thus far, of his plan.

Soon after the arrival of Champe in New York, he was sent to Sir Henry Clinton, who treated him kindly, but detained him more than an hour in asking him questions, to answer some of which, without exciting suspicion, required all the art the sergeant was master of. He succeeded, however, and Sir Henry gave him a couple of guineas, and recommended him to Arnold, who was wishing to procure American recruits. Arnold received him kindly, and proposed to him to join his legion. Champe, however, expressed his wish to retire from war; but assured the general, that, if he should change his mind, he would enlist. Champe found means to communicate to Lee an account of his adventures; but, unfortunately, he could not succeed in taking Arnold, as was wished, before the execution of André. Ten days before Champe brought his project to a conclusion, Lee received from him his final communication, appointing the third subsequent night for a party of dragoons to meet him at Hoboken, opposite New York, when he hoped to deliver Arnold to the officers. Champe had enlisted into Arnold's legion, from which time he had every opportunity he could wish to attend to the habits of the general. He discovered that it was his custom to return home about twelve every night; and that, previously to going to bed, he always visited the garden. During this visit, the conspirators were to seize him, and, being prepared with a gag, they were to apply the same instantly.

Adjoining the house in which Arnold resided, and in which it was designed to seize and gag him, Champe had taken off several of the palings and replaced them, so that with ease, and without noise, he could readily open his way to the adjoining alley. Into this alley he intended to convey his prisoner, aided by his companion, one of two associates who had been introduced by the friend to whom Champe had been originally made known by letter from

the commander-in-chief, and with whose aid and counsel he had so far conducted the enterprise. His other associate was with the boat, prepared, at one of the wharves on the Hudson river, to receive the party: Champe and his friend intended to place themselves each under Arnold's shoulder, and thus to bear him through the most unfrequented alleys and streets to the boat, representing Arnold, in case of being questioned, as a drunken soldier, whom they were conveying to the guard-house. When arrived at the boat, the difficulties would be all surmounted, there being no danger nor obstacle in passing to the Jersey shore. These particulars, as soon as made known to Lee, were communicated to the commander-in-chief, who was highly gratified with the much-desired intelligence. He desired Major Lee to meet Champe, and to take care that Arnold should not be hurt.

The day arrived, and Lee, with a party of accoutred horses, (one for Arnold, one for the sergeant, and the third for his associate, who was to assist in securing Arnold,) left the camp, never doubting the success of the enterprise, from the tenor of the last received communication. The party reached Hoboken about midnight, where they were concealed in the adjoining wood—Lee, with three dragoons, stationing himself near the shore of the river. Hour after hour passed, but no boat approached. At length the day broke, and the major retired to his party, and, with his led horses, returned to the camp, when he proceeded to headquarters to inform the general of the much-lamented disappointment, as mortifying as inexplicable. Washington, having perused Champe's plan and communication, had indulged the presumption, that, at length, the object of his keen and constant pursuit was sure of execution, and did not dissemble the joy which such a conviction produced. He was chagrined at the issue, and apprehended that his faithful sergeant must have been detected in the last scene of his tedious and difficult enterprise.

In a few days, Lee received an anonymous letter from Champe's patron and friend, informing him, that, on the day preceding the night fixed for the execution of the plot,

Arnold had removed his quarters to another part of the town, to superintend the embarkation of troops, preparing, as was rumored, for an expedition to be directed by himself; and that the American legion, consisting chiefly of American deserters, had been transferred from their barracks to one of the transports, it being apprehended that if left on shore until the expedition was ready many of them might desert. Thus it happened that John Champe, instead of crossing the Hudson that night, was safely deposited on board one of the fleet of transports, from whence he never departed until the troops under Arnold landed in Virginia. Nor was he able to escape from the British army, until after the junction of Lord Cornwallis at Petersburg, when he deserted, and, proceeding high up into Virginia, he passed into North Carolina, near the Saura towns, and, keeping in the friendly districts of that state, safely joined the Americans soon after they passed the Congaree, in pursuit of Lord Rawdon. His appearance excited extreme surprise among his former comrades, which was not a little increased when they saw the cordial reception he met with from the late major, now Lieutenant-Colonel Lee. His whole story was soon known to the corps, which reproduced the love and respect of officers and soldiers, heretofore invariably entertained for the sergeant, heightened by universal admiration of his late daring and arduous attempt.

Champe was introduced to General Greene, who very cheerfully complied with the promise made by the commander-in-chief, so far as in his power; and, having provided the sergeant with a good horse and money for his journey, sent him to General Washington, who munificently anticipated every desire of the sergeant, and presented him with a discharge from further service, lest he might, in the vicissitudes of war, fall into the hands of the enemy, when, if recognised, he was sure to die on a gibbet.

In October, 1780, Clinton detached Arnold on a marauding expedition, into Virginia, with about one thousand six hundred men, and a number of armed vessels. He laid waste the country upon James river, in several predatory excursions, until his progress was arrested by the appear-

ance of the French squadron from Newport. This fleet put an end to the ravages of Arnold, by capturing and destroying a very considerable part of his fleet; and would have caused the destruction of the traitor, had not a British fleet appeared from New York, for the relief of Arnold, and, by a naval engagement off the capes of Virginia with the French fleet, afforded him an opportunity to escape to New York. The French returned to Newport.

Soon after Arnold's return from Virginia, he was despatched on a new excursion to Connecticut, his native state. His force consisted of two thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, accompanied by forty ships and transports. He landed his troops at the mouth of New London harbor, and proceeded to the town. Fort Trumbull was in a condition to make but little resistance, but Fort Griswold, on the other side of the river, was bravely defended by Colonel Ledyard and a few militia, hastily collected. The assault on the fort was made by Colonel Eyre, who was three times repulsed, and, receiving a mortal wound, the command devolved on Major Bromfield, who, with a superior force, carried the place at the point of the bayonet. On entering the fort, the British officer inquired who commanded. Colonel Ledyard answered, "I did, sir, but you do now," and presented his sword as a prisoner. The British officer took it, and plunged it into the body of Colonel Ledyard. An indiscriminate slaughter immediately ensued, and seventy-three men were left dead in the fort, about forty wounded, and the same number taken prisoners. Arnold continued on the New London side, suffered the town to be plundered, and destroyed by fire sixty dwelling-houses and eighty-four stores, besides the shipping, naval stores, and a large amount of goods and provisions. The militia collected with great spirit and promptness to avenge the murder of their friends. The enemy became alarmed, and made a hasty retreat, after a loss of two officers and forty-six soldiers killed, and eight officers and thirty-five men wounded.

The vest worn by Colonel Ledyard at the time he was massacred, has been deposited with the Connecticut His-

torical Society, at Hartford. The sword entered in front, near the heart, and passed entirely through his body. The two gashes, one in front, the other in the back of the vest, remain the same as when on the unfortunate victim.

The most dangerous symptoms were exhibited in the conduct of a part of the army, towards the end of the year 1780. The revolt of the whole Pennsylvania line spread a temporary dismay throughout the country. On the 1st of January, 1781, upwards of a thousand men, belonging to that portion of the army, marched in a body from the camp in the Jerseys. Others, equally disaffected, soon followed them. They took post on an advantageous ground, chose for their leader a sergeant-major, a British deserter, and saluted him as their major-general. On the third day of their revolt, a message was sent from the officers of the American camp; this they refused to receive; but to a flag which followed, requesting to know their complaints and intentions, they replied, that "they had served three years; that they had engaged to serve no longer; nor would they return or disperse until their grievances were redressed and their arrearages paid."

General Wayne, who commanded the line, had been greatly beloved and respected by the soldiers, nor did he at first doubt but that his influence would soon bring them back to their duty. He did everything in the power of a spirited and judicious officer to quiet their clamors, in the beginning of the insurrection; but many of them pointed their bayonets at his breast; told him to be on his guard; that they were determined to march to congress to obtain a redress of grievances; that though they respected him as an officer, and loved his person, yet, if he attempted to fire on them, "he was a dead man." Sir Henry Clinton soon gained intelligence of the confusion and danger into which the Americans were plunged. He improved the advantageous moment, and made the revolters every tempting offer. But the intrigues of the British officers, and the measures of their commander-in-chief, had not the smallest influence; the revolted troops, though dissatisfied, appeared to have no inclination to join the British army. They



General Wayne.

declared, with one voice, that if there was an immediate necessity to call out the American forces, they would still fight under the orders of congress. Several British spies were detected, busily employed in endeavoring to increase the ferment, who were tried and executed with little ceremony.

The prudent conduct of the commander-in-chief, and the disposition which appeared in government to do justice to their demands, subdued the mutiny. A committee was sent from congress to hear their complaints, and, as far as possible, to relieve their sufferings. Those whose term of enlistment had expired, were paid off and discharged; the reasonable demands of others were satisfied; and a general pardon was granted to the offenders, who cheerfully returned to their duty. But the contagion and mutinous example of the Pennsylvania line had spread in some degree its dangerous influence over other parts of the army. It operated more particularly on a part of the Jersey troops, soon after the pacification of the disorderly Pennsylvania soldiers, though not with equal success and impunity to

themselves. A few of the principal leaders of the revolt were tried by a court-martial, and found guilty. As a second general pardon, without any penal inflictions, would have had a fatal effect on the army, two of them suffered death for their mutinous conduct. This example of severity put a period to every symptom of open revolt, though not to the silent murmurs of the army. They still felt heavily the immediate inconveniences of the deficiency of almost every article necessary to life; they had little food and seldom any covering, except what was forced from the adjacent inhabitants by military power.

France had acknowledged the independence of America; and the whole house of Bourbon now supported the claim of the United States, though there had yet been no direct treaty between America and Spain. It had been the general expectation, for some time before it took place, that Spain would soon unite with France in support of the American cause. From this expectation, the Spaniards in South America had prepared themselves for a rupture a considerable time before any formal declaration of war had taken place. They were in readiness to take the earliest advantage of such an event. They had accordingly seized Pensacola, in West Florida, and several British posts on the Mississippi, before the troops stationed there had any intimation that hostilities were declared, in the usual style, between England and Spain. Don Bernard de Galvez, the Spanish governor of Louisiana, had proclaimed the independence of America, in New Orleans, at the head of all the forces he could collect, as early as the 19th of August, 1779, and had proceeded immediately to surprise and conquer, wherever he could, the unguarded British settlements. The British navy, generally masters of the ocean, had, early after hostilities commenced, beaten some of the Spanish ships, intercepted the convoys, and captured or destroyed several of the homeward-bound fleets of merchantmen. But, by this time, the arms of Spain had been successful in several enterprises by sea. At the Bay of Honduras and in the West Indies, they also soon gained several other advantages. Galvez had concerted a plan

with the governor of Havana, to surprise Mobile. He encountered storms, dangers, disappointments and difficulties, almost innumerable. This enterprising Spaniard recovered, however, in some measure, his losses; and receiving a reinforcement from Havana, with a part of the regiment of Navarre, and some other auxiliaries, he landed near Mobile, and reduced the whole province of West Florida, in May, 1781.

It was, indeed, some time after the accession of Spain, that any other European power explicitly acknowledged the independence of the United States; but Mr. Izard, who was sent by congress to Tuscany, and Mr. William Lee, to the court of Vienna, in 1778, inspired with that lively assurance which is sometimes the pledge of success, had met with no discouraging circumstances. Holland had a still more difficult part to act, than France, Spain, or perhaps any other European power, who actually had adhered to, or appeared inclined to favor, the cause of America. Her embarrassments arose in part from existing treaties with Great Britain, by which the latter claimed the Dutch republic as their ally.

The unfortunate capture of Mr. Laurens, the American envoy, prevented for a time all public negotiations with Holland. He had been vested with discretionary powers, and had suitable instructions given him, to enter into private contracts and negotiations, as exigencies might offer, for the interest of his country, until events had ripened for his full admission as ambassador of the United States of America. The British commander knew not the rank of his prisoner, until the packages, thrown overboard by Mr. Laurens, were recovered by a British sailor. Notwithstanding the resentment of the British envoy at the Hague, the conduct of the Dutch court remained for some time so equivocal, that neither Great Britain nor America were fully satisfied with their determinations. It is true, a treaty with the United States was for some time postponed; but the answer of the Dutch government to the remonstrances of Sir Joseph Yorke, the British envoy, not being sufficiently condescending and decided, his resentment

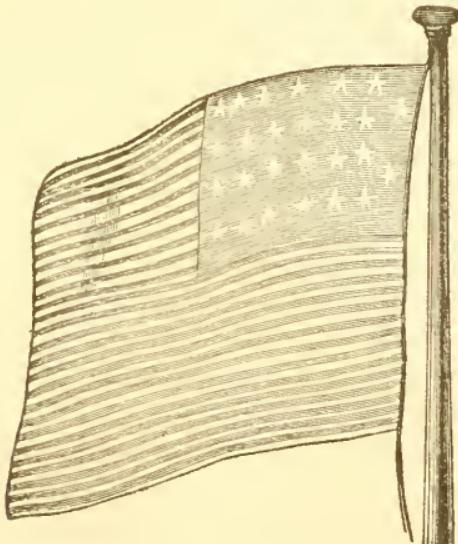
daily increased. He informed his court, in very strong terms, of the effect of his repeated memorials, of the conduct of the Dutch government, and of that of the principal characters of the Batavian provinces. Great Britain soon after, in the recess of parliament, amidst all her other difficulties, at war with France, Spain and America, and left alone by all the other powers of Europe to decide her own quarrels, declared hostilities against the Netherlands; and a long manifesto from the king was sent abroad in the latter part of December, 1780.

The capture of Mr. Laurens was, however, no small embarrassment to the British ministry. Their pride would not suffer them to recognise his public character; they dared not condemn him as a rebel; the independence of America was too far advanced, and there were too many captured noblemen and officers in the United States, to allow of such a step, lest immediate retaliation should be made. He was confined in the tower, forbidden the use of pen, ink, and paper, and all social intercourse with any one; and was even interdicted converse with his young son, who had been several years in England for his education.



John Adams.

Immediately after the news of the capture and imprisonment of Mr. Laurens, the American congress directed John Adams, who had a second time been sent to Europe in a public character, to leave France and repair to Holland, there to transact the affairs with the States-General, which had before been entrusted to Mr. Laurens. Mr. Adams' commission was enlarged. From a confidence in his talents and integrity, he was vested with ample powers for negotiation, for the forming treaties of alliance and commerce, or the loan of moneys, for the United States of America. Not fettered by precise instructions, he exercised his discretionary powers with judgment and ability. Thus, in strict amity with France and Spain—on the point of a treaty of alliance with the Batavian Republic—and in the mean time Sweden and Denmark balanceing, and nearly determined on a connection with America, the foreign relations of the United States, in general, wore a very favorable aspect.



CHAPTER X.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Campaign in the south—General Greene appointed to the command of the southern army—March of Cornwallis to North Carolina—Battle of Cowpens—Defeat of Pill's tory regiment—Greene's retreat to Virginia—Battle of Guilford—March of Cornwallis to Virginia—Clinton sends troops to the Chesapeake—Battle between Greene and Rawdon—Derasstations of the British in Virginia—Manœuvres of Steuben and La Fayette—Bold stratagem of General Wayne—Greene's movements in South Carolina—Battle of Eutaw Springs—War in Virginia—Cornwallis fortifies himself in Yorktown—Washington's dexterous manœuvres—Arrival of De Grasse's French fleet—Battle between De Grasse and Admiral Graves—Siege of Yorktown—Surrender of Cornwallis—Campaign of Greene and Wayne in the south—Expulsion of the British from the Carolinas and Georgia.*

WE must now resume our narrative of the campaign in the south. General Gates having retired from the service, General Greene was appointed, by congress, to succeed him. He immediately repaired to the seat of war, and exerted himself to rally and concentrate the scattered forces of the Americans. Early in January, 1781, Cornwallis moved from his camp at Winnesborough, and directed his march toward North Carolina, across the territory lying between Broad and Catawba rivers. To check his progress, the Americans decided to threaten the post of Ninety-six, at the same time that Colonel Morgan, with five hundred Virginia regulars, some companies of militia, and Colonel Washington's body of light-horse, were detached by Greene to guard the fords of the river Pacolet. Greene himself, took post on the Pedee, opposite Cheraw Hill. This division of his forces was judged very hazardous, as, if the British general had pushed onward, he might have thrown himself between the two parties and crushed each one separately. Greene, possibly, had the means of knowing that his enemy was not

prepared for a rapid and decisive movement. Cornwallis, anxious for the safety of Ninety-six, ordered Tarleton, with his legion of cavalry and a body of infantry, to advance and cover that fortress. Tarleton, on arriving there, found everything quiet. The Americans had withdrawn, after some slight skirmishes; on which he wheeled about and marched upon Morgan, confident of being able either to fall upon him by surprise and put him to the rout, or at least to drive him beyond Broad river, which would have left the way clear for the royal army. Cornwallis, being apprized of his design, gave it his sanction, and lent his aid by moving up the left bank of the river to threaten Morgan's rear. The scheme at first promised full success. Tarleton effected a quick and safe passage across the Enmoree and Tiger, and made his appearance on the banks of the Pacolet. Morgan retreated before him, and Tarleton closely pushed in pursuit.

Morgan now found his situation critical,—an active and enterprising enemy pressing upon his rear, and a river in front. By retreating still farther, he was under the necessity of crossing the river in the face of the enemy. He determined, therefore, to make a stand and give him battle. He took post, January 17th, at the Cowpens, and drew up his troops in three divisions. The first, composed of militia, under Colonel Pickens, occupied the front of a wood in view of the enemy. The second, composed of regulars, under Colonel Howard, was concealed in the wood itself. The third, consisting of Washington's cavalry, was posted behind the second division as a reserve. Tarleton, eager for the fight, and confident of victory, came up and formed in two lines, his infantry in the centre of each, and his cavalry on the flanks. Everything seemed to assure him the victory. He was superior in cavalry, and his troops, both officers and soldiers, manifested the greatest confidence and ardor. He began the attack upon the advanced body of the Americans with great spirit. The militia, as had been expected, made but a feeble resistance, and then broke and fled in confusion. Pursuing their advantage, the British then fell upon the second line, but here they made less

impression, and the battle raged fiercely, without any disposition to yield on the part of the Americans. The British light horse made an attack upon Washington's cavalry, but were repulsed. Tarleton, finding now a more obstinate resistance in all quarters than he had anticipated, pushed forward a battalion of his second line, and, at the same time, directed a charge of cavalry upon the American right flank. The attack was pushed so vigorously that the American regulars gave way and were thrown into disorder. The British now imagined the day was their own, and rushed forward with their cavalry in pursuit of the fugitives, but Washington's troop, still in perfect order, and which had been waiting for the decisive moment, fell suddenly upon them with such impetuosity that he gave them an instant check. And now the tide of success began to turn. The militia had been rallied and brought back to the fight. Morgan was visible everywhere, and his presence and words reanimated the spirits of his soldiers. Taking advantage of a moment of enthusiasm, he urged them in one general and precipitate charge upon the enemy. The shock was tremendous, and the British, astonished at this furious attack from an enemy whom they had thought utterly overthrown, at first paused and then everywhere gave way. In vain did their officers employ exhortation, prayers and threats to stay the fugitives; they broke their ranks and fled in confusion, and the defeat of the British army was total.

Such was the issue of the battle of Cowpens, one of the most obstinately contested conflicts of the whole war. Tarleton lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, above eight hundred men, together with two pieces of cannon, the colors of the seventh regiment, and all his baggage and carriages. The effects of this victory were most decisive and important. The destruction of the best part of the British cavalry and the total defeat of Tarleton, who had been, till that period, the terror of the whole southern country, animated the Americans with fresh spirits. The loss of the horses was a most severe one to the British, as the face of the country, which is flat and open, renders cavalry

of the utmost importance to a campaign in that quarter. The consequences of this battle were heavily felt by the British during the remainder of the war in the Carolinas and Virginia; it was, in a word, decisive of the fate of those provinces.

Cornwallis, irritated by this unexpected defeat, immediately put his army in motion to pursue the victorious Americans. Greene, finding his forces insufficient to meet the enemy, retreated before him into Virginia. This retreat however, did not prove so beneficial to the royal cause as Cornwallis had anticipated, yet it caused the British to redouble their efforts in stimulating the inhabitants to take arms on their side. Cornwallis despatched Tarleton into the district between Haw and Deep rivers, to raise a corps of loyalists, who were represented as very numerous in that quarter. His exertions were not in vain. The family of Pill, one of the most considerable of the country, was also one of the foremost in setting this example. Already a colonel of that family had assembled a considerable body of his most audacious partisans, and was on his way to join Tarleton. But Greene, who was fully sensible how prejudicial it would prove to the American cause if he suffered their arms to be weakened in North Carolina, and fearing the tories might revolutionize that province, had ordered Lee's cavalry to the banks of the Dan to counteract the efforts of the British. Lee made a rapid march and fell in with Colonel Pill's troops. These loyalists, totally unacquainted with the profession of arms, took no precautions to reconnoitre the country on their march in order to obtain intelligence of their enemies, and, on the sight of Lee's troops, imagined they were Tarleton's corps. The Americans, who knew their business better, immediately charged them with great impetuosity. The loyalists, not yet discovering their mistake, shouted, "Long live the king!" but the fury of their assailants only raged the fiercer, and, in a few minutes, the few of them who survived were obliged to surrender. Thus these rash and inexperienced men were led to slaughter by a hot-headed and presumpt-

tuous chief, who had imagined that the spirit of party could supply the place of talent and knowledge.

At the news of this catastrophe, Tarleton, who was in the immediate neighborhood, put his troops in motion, with intent to encounter Lee; but an order of Cornwallis checked him and drew him back to Hillsborough. This was caused by a bold movement of Greene, who had re-crossed the Dan and again threatened to overrun North Carolina. He took post on the western bank of the river, toward the head streams of the Haw, in a strong position, to avoid the necessity of an immediate battle, as his reinforcements had not yet arrived. Cornwallis immediately quitted Hillsborough, crossed the Haw, and detached Tarleton to scour the country as far as Deep river. The two armies were now separated only by the Haw, and daily skirmishes ensued. The two generals manœuvred a long time with great ability, Cornwallis to bring his enemy to battle, and Greene to avoid it. The American was skilful enough to keep his antagonist at bay; but toward the middle of March he received reinforcements of militia and regulars, and determined no longer to decline a decisive action, but, on the contrary, to march directly upon the enemy. He accordingly pushed forward his whole force, and took a position at Guilford Court House.

Cornwallis immediately advanced to meet his antagonist. His army consisted of above two thousand four hundred veteran troops. The forces of Greene were much superior in number, but the greater part were militia. Not five hundred men in his army had ever seen service. All the adjacent country was covered with thick woods, interspersed here and there with spots of cultivation. A gentle and woody declivity traversed and extended far on both sides of the great road which leads from Salisbury to Guilford. This road runs through the centre of the forest. In the neighborhood of Guilford were two open fields, of moderate extent, adapted to military evolutions. On the 15th of March, Greene had occupied, with a body of troops, a wood, covering the slope of an eminence, and likewise drawn up

a portion of his army in the contiguous plain. In this position he designed to receive the enemy. His order of battle was in three divisions; the first, composed of North Carolina militia, under Generals Butler and Eaton, was posted toward the foot of the hill on the edge of the forest. Its front was covered by a thick hedge, and two pieces of cannon defended the great road. The second division comprised the Virginia militia, under Generals Stevens and Lawson, and was formed in the woods parallel to the first, about eight hundred yards in the rear. The regulars, under General Huger and Colonel Williams, filled the plain which extends from the forest to Guilford. This ground permitted them to manœuvre. Two other pieces of cannon, planted upon an eminence which covered their flank, commanded also the highway. Colonel Washington, with his dragoons and Linch's riflemen, flanked the right wing; and Colonel Lee, with a detachment of light infantry and the dragoons of Campbell, the left.

Cornwallis drew up in the following manner; General Leslie, with an English regiment and the Hessian regiment of Boze, occupied the right of the first line; and Colonel Webster, with two English regiments, the left. A battalion of guards formed a reserve to the first, and another to the second. The artillery and grenadiers marched in close column in the great road, where Tarleton was also posted with his legion, but with orders not to move, except upon emergency, until the infantry, after having carried the wood, should advance into the plain behind it, where cavalry could act. The battle began by a brisk cannonade on both sides. The British then, leaving their artillery behind, rushed forward through the fire of the enemy into the intermediate plain. The Carolina militia at first stood fire, but, on being charged with the bayonet, broke their ranks and fled. The British then assailed the Virginia militia, who maintained their ground longer, but at length fell back. The British, having gained the open ground, next attacked the American regulars, but here they met with a firm resistance, and Leslie, finding he could make no impression upon the American left, sheltered his men

behind a ravine. The action was supported in the centre with great fury. Stewart, with the British guards and grenadiers, had fallen so fiercely upon the Delaware troops, that he had broken their line and taken two pieces of cannon, but the Marylanders came promptly to their assistance, and not only restored the battle, but forced the British to recoil in disorder. At this moment Washington's cavalry came up and charged them with such impetuosity that he put them to flight, with great slaughter, and recovered the two cannon. Colonel Stewart, who commanded this body of British, was killed.

Had the Americans promptly taken advantage of this success, by planting their artillery on the hill bordering the great road, they would at once have cut the left wing of the enemy off from the centre and right, and obtained a decisive victory. But instead of taking possession of the height, they contented themselves with the advantage they had gained, and repaired to the posts they had previously occupied. The British at once saw this oversight, and lost no time in placing their artillery upon the hill, from which they poured in a destructive fire upon the American regulars. This turned the fortune of the day. The British centre and left rallied, and a charge was made upon the American flank. The whole weight of the battle now fell upon the American regulars, who, finding themselves assailed on different sides, began to think of retreat. They withdrew step by step, without breaking their ranks, and still preserving a manacing attitude. They were obliged, however, to abandon their cannon. The British then advanced and charged General Greene's right wing, which was forced to give way. The Americans no longer contested the field, and withdrew about three miles from the scene of the battle, where they halted to take care of their wounded and collect their scattered forces.

The Americans lost thirteen hundred men, in killed and wounded and prisoners, in this obstinate conflict. The loss of the British exceeded six hundred. Cornwallis remained master of the field, but, except the honor of the victory, he reaped no advantage from his success. The

loss of so many of his veteran troops could not be repaired. Greene withdrew, unmolested, behind Reedy Fork, while the British general, from the fatigue of his soldiers, the multitude of his wounded, and the strength of the new position which the Americans had taken, could not pursue him with any hope of success. Greene moved from Reedy Fork, and encamped at the Iron Works on Troublesome Creek. Cornwallis became embarrassed by the refusal of the inhabitants to join his standard after the battle of Guilford; his provisions also failed him, and he fell back upon Bell's Mills, on Deep river, abandoning a great part of his wounded to the care of the Americans. He soon decamped from this neighborhood, and marched with all possible expedition towards the eastern parts of North Carolina. He found many difficulties in his way, but pursued his route with great perseverance. His army cheerfully sustained the severest fatigue; but, as they had frequently done before, they marked their way with the slaughter of the inhabitants, through a territory of many hundred miles in extent from Charleston to Yorktown. It was afterwards computed that fourteen hundred widows were made, during this year's campaign only, in the district of Ninety-six. A detail of all the small encounters that took place this year in both the Carolinas, would only fatigue the reader. It is enough to observe that the Americans, under various leaders, were continually attacking, with alternate success and defeat, the chain of British posts planted from Camden to Ninety-six; and as Greene himself expressed his sentiments in this embarrassed situation, "We fight, get beaten; rise and fight again; the whole country is one continued scene of slaughter and blood." Fierce encounters were still kept up between the British detachments posted on advantageous heights, and on the banks of deep and unfordable rivers which intersected each other, and the hardy chieftains who led the Carolinian bands over mountains, declivities, swamps and rivers, to the vicinity of Charleston. Thence they were often obliged to retreat back from the borders of civilization, again to seek safety in the dreary wilderness; until

the British, wearied by a constant course of harassing conflicts, at length drew in their outposts, and concentrated their forces.

In the mean time, Clinton had detached a fleet from New York, with fifteen hundred troops on board, to coöperate with Cornwallis. The troops were landed in Chesapeake Bay, and committed the most alarming depredations. Ineffectual attempts were made to dislodge them. A movement was now made, by Greene, towards South Carolina. He boldly advanced, and gave battle to Lord Rawdon, who was in the vicinity of Camden, on the 25th of April. A desperate contest ensued, and victory was doubtful. Both withdrew from the conflict, and left the field covered with the dead. Rawdon retired to Camden, and strengthened his position. Greene advanced, and, by a desperate assault, was on the point of carrying the strong fortress of Ninety-six, the reduction of which would have recovered all South Carolina, except Charleston. At this critical moment, Lord Rawdon put himself at the head of seventeen hundred fresh troops, then arrived from Ireland, and, by forced marches, advanced to the relief of Ninety-six. The approach of this force compelled Greene to abandon the assault, when engaged hand to hand with the enemy, and when victory was ready to decide in his favor. The general drew off his army towards Camden, in good order. The British pursued, but Greene eluded them, by filing off towards Charleston, and taking a strong position upon the hills of Santee. Rawdon retired to Charleston.

The war, during these operations in the south, raged in Virginia. The British were under the command of General Phillips, and the ravages of the enemy exceeded all description. At Petersburg, they destroyed all the shipping and about four hundred hogsheads of tobacco. At Osborn's Mills, they took two ships and ten smaller vessels, laden with cordage, flour, &c. Four ships and a number of smaller vessels were burnt or sunk, besides many others destroyed by the Americans, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy, together with about three thousand hogsheads of tobacco, April 27. On the 30th, they pen-

trated to Manchester, and destroyed twelve hundred hogsheads more; thence they proceeded to Warwick, and laid waste the shipping, both in the river and on the stocks; also, extensive rope-walks, tanneries, warehouses, and magazines of flour, mills, &c., in one general conflagration, and then embarked on board their shipping.

The Baron Steuben, with a small American army, opposed this party, but his force was insufficient to make any serious impressions. La Fayette was detached with troops to assist him; but such was the state of the military funds, that, when he arrived in Baltimore, he was obliged to borrow two thousand guineas, *on his own responsibility*, to enable him to proceed. On the strength of this, he advanced to Richmond, where he joined the baron, with the Virginia militia, and covered Richmond. Here he watched the movements of the enemy, though too weak to check all their operations. On the 9th of May, General Phillips entered Petersburg, where he died on the 13th.

Cornwallis had advanced from Guilford to Wilmington, and left Greene in the rear. From Wilmington he advanced to Petersburg, where he found eighteen hundred troops, and, being thus reinforced, he advanced towards Richmond, in order to dislodge La Fayette.Flushed by recent triumphs, in a letter to Sir Henry, he thus wrote, "The boy cannot escape me." He did escape, however, and evacuated the place on the 27th of May. On the 7th of June, General Wayne joined La Fayette, with eight hundred of the Pennsylvania militia. While on the march, however, supposing the main army of Cornwallis had crossed the river James, he attacked what he supposed to be the rearguard, when, to his surprise, he found the general at the head of the army, ready to receive him. Finding no time was to be lost, he advanced to the charge, at the head of his column, in gallant style. The conflict was sharp, and, availing himself of his first impression, he hastily withdrew, leaving the general as much astonished as he found him. He retreated in good order, without pursuit, as Cornwallis probably concluded that it was

an ambuscade. The British retired in the night, and marched to Portsmouth.

Meantime, Greene, at his post on the heights of the Santee, was not inactive. He made great exertions to strengthen his army by new recruits, and to discipline the whole force by frequent manœuvres. The militia of the surrounding districts, resorted, in great numbers, to his standard, and he felt himself sufficiently strong for active operations. In the beginning of September, the intense heats having subsided, he moved forward, with a design to expel the British from the posts they occupied in the interior of South Carolina. Taking a circuitous course toward the upper Congaree, he crossed that stream, and descended rapidly along the western bank, with all his forces, to attack the British post near the confluence of that river with the Santee. Colonel Stuart, who commanded the troops at this place, finding the American army superior to his own, especially in cavalry, retreated to Eutaw Springs, where he threw up works. Greene pursued him to this place, and, on the 8th of September, a severe battle was fought.

The Americans marched to the attack in three lines, the advance being composed of the Carolina militia, the second line of regulars, and the reserve comprising Washington's dragoons and the Delaware militia. Colonel Lee, with his legion of cavalry, covered the right flank, and Colonel Henderson the left. The British troops were drawn up in two lines; the vanguard being defended on the right by the little stream of the Eutaw, and the left resting upon a thick wood. The second line, forming a reserve, was stationed upon the heights commanding the Charleston road. After some skirmishing between the irregulars of both armies, the engagement became general and was maintained, for a considerable time, with balanced success. At length the Carolina militia broke and retired in disorder. The left of the British quitted its position to pursue them, causing a gap in their front line. Greene, perceiving his advantage, pushed forward his second line, and charged

the enemy so vigorously that they were thrown into disorder, and began to retreat. To complete their route, Lee, with his cavalry, turned their left flank and attacked them in the rear. The whole left wing of the British now took to flight; the right only held firm. Greene brought up the regulars, and attacked it briskly in front, while Washington's dragoons fell upon the flank. The British now gave way in all quarters, and retreated in haste and disorder to their intrenchment. Several cannon and a great number of prisoners fell into the hands of the Americans. The victory seemed to be fully accomplished.

But in the moment of anticipated victory, an unexpected rally of the enemy checked the Americans in the full tide of success. The British, in their flight, had the presence of mind to throw themselves into a very large and strong house, where they made a desperate defence. A body of them took shelter in a thick and almost impenetrable brushwood, and another in a garden fenced with palisades. Here the battle recommenced, with more fury than at first. The Americans made the bravest and most persevering attempts to dislodge the enemy from these new posts. They brought up four pieces of artillery and commenced battering the house. Colonel Washington attempted to penetrate the wood, and Lee endeavored to force the garden; but their efforts were vain. The British repulsed them with great slaughter, and Washington was wounded and taken. Stuart rallied his right wing, pushed it forward, and by a circuitous movement gained the left flank of the Americans. Greene was now convinced that it was impossible to make any further impression upon the enemy; he therefore, put an end to the carnage, by drawing off his troops. The Americans returned to their first encampment, carrying off most of their wounded, and five hundred prisoners; but losing two pieces of cannon.

The battle of Eutaw was one of the most hard-fought contests that took place during the whole war. The American troops exhibited uncommon valor. Impatient to close with their enemies, they promptly resorted to the bayonet, which they had seemed to dread at the commence-

ment of hostilities; but which was now become a formidable weapon in their hands. The British, on their part, defended their posts with great resolution. The Americans lost, in killed, wounded and prisoners, six hundred men. The loss of the British was much greater; and, on the night of the following day, they abandoned their entrenchments, and retreated down the river to Monk's Corner, having destroyed their magazines and thrown into the river a great quantity of arms. Congress voted public thanks to those who had distinguished themselves in this battle, and presented to General Greene a gold medal and one of the captured standards.

The grand operations of the war were now about to be transferred to Virginia. The Americans had no considerable army in that state. Washington lay in his cantonments about New York, where the hostile attitude of Clinton demanded his constant vigilance. With these inviting prospects, Cornwallis marched from Wilmington, in April, 1781, and, with some occasional resistance from small parties of the Americans, reached Petersburg, in Virginia, on the 20th of May. Here he was joined by the British forces under General Philips, and shortly after by a reinforcement of fifteen hundred men from New York.

Cornwallis now found himself at the head of an army amounting nearly to ten thousand men,—a force sufficiently formidable to bear down all opposition. The troops of the Americans did not exceed three thousand men, two thirds of whom were militia. These were commanded by La Fayette, who retired as Cornwallis advanced. After crossing James river, the British marched and counter-marched for some weeks. They took Charlottesville, and destroyed a great quantity of stores. Cornwallis then fell back upon Richmond, and, on the 26th of June, retreated to Williamsburg. La Fayette had the address to make his force appear much greater than it really was; and, by keeping in an imposing attitude, he compelled his adversary to act with caution. Many skirmishes took place, but no decisive action ensued. About the 1st of July, Cornwallis received letters from Clinton, stating his fears

of being attacked in New York, and requesting a reinforcement from the army of Cornwallis. He recommended that the troops remaining in Virginia should take post in some strong situation till the danger at New York had passed. To comply with these suggestions, Cornwallis resolved to retreat toward the shores of the Chesapeake. Portsmouth, near Norfolk, where the British had a strong garrison, was first fixed upon as the station for the army; but, on account of the fleet, Yorktown was afterward found a preferable spot. The troops were, therefore, removed from Portsmouth to Yorktown, and here the whole British army fortified themselves in July, 1781. The detachment, however, to reinforce Clinton was not sent away. Cornwallis expected to be further strengthened by the speedy arrival of a British squadron from the West Indies.

Washington, in the mean time, had been eyeing the movements of Cornwallis, in the south, with great anxiety. During the early part of the season, he had hopes of striking an important blow, by attacking New York, in conjunction with the French land and sea-forces and a strong body of militia, to be suddenly raised for that purpose. The failure of several of the states to forward their militia in season, and the arrival of three thousand German troops at New York, caused this design to miscarry. Washington felt the deepest mortification at this disappointment; yet, before long, he had cause to regard it as one of the most fortunate events of his life. He was soon enabled to employ his army with the most brilliant success in another quarter.

Early in August, intelligence was received that a powerful French fleet, under the Count de Grasse, was to sail immediately from the West Indies for the Chesapeake, with several thousand land troops on board. Washington now saw an opportunity for making a most important change in the campaign. Cornwallis had shut himself up in Yorktown, and Washington discerned at once the possibility of uniting his army with the French in Virginia, and overpowering his enemy at a single stroke. This plan required great skill and address; but the American com-

mander accomplished it with an ability that has seldom been equalled. To abandon the neighborhood of New York, with all his forces, would lay the country open to the incursions of the strong British army in that city; but a stratagem of Washington obviated the danger from this source. He wrote letters to the officers at the south, stating his inability to assist them with any part of his army, as he was about to make an immediate attack on New York. These letters were intercepted by the British, as had been foreseen, and Clinton was completely deceived as to the real intentions of Washington. Fearing an immediate attack, he dared not send aid to Cornwallis, but left that officer to his fate.

Washington, by a variety of well-combined manœuvres, kept New York and its dependencies in a continual state of alarm for several weeks, when, towards the end of August, judging that the proper conjuncture had arrived, he suddenly broke up his camp, made a rapid march across the Jerseys and Pennsylvania, to the head waters of the Chesapeake, embarked the army in boats, descended the bay, and landed safely in Virginia. He reached Williamsburg on the 14th of September.

In the mean time, the fortunate arrival of a French fleet under the Count de Grasse, in the Chesapeake, on the 30th of August, hastened the decision of important events. No intelligence of this had reached New York; nor could anything have been more unexpected to the British admiral, Sir Samuel Hood, who arrived soon after in the Chesapeake, than to find a French fleet, of twenty-eight sail of the line, lying there in perfect security. About the same time, near twenty British ships of the line, from the West Indies, joined the squadron under Admiral Graves, before New York. This fleet sailed for the Chesapeake, and entered the bay six days after the arrival of the Count de Grasse. The French squadron had not been discovered by the British commander, nor had he gained any intelligence that Count de Grasse was on the American coast, until the morning of the 5th of September, when the English observed them in full view within Cape Henry. The

fleets were nearly equal in strength, and a spirited action ensued. Equal gallantry was exhibited on both sides, but neither could boast of victory. Both squadrons were considerably injured, and one British seventy-four was rendered totally unfit for service, and set on fire by the crew. The English, indeed, were not beaten, but the French gained a double advantage; for while the Count de Grasse remained at a distance, watched by the British navy, he secured a passage for the fleet of the Count de Barras from Rhode Island, and gained to himself the advantage of blocking up the Chesapeake against the enemy. Barras brought with him the French troops from Rhode Island, amounting to about three thousand men. These joined La Fayette, whose numbers had been greatly reduced. This reinforcement enabled him to support himself by defensive operations, until, in a short time, they were all united under the command of the Count de Rochambeau. The British fleet continued a few days in the Chesapeake. Their ships were so much injured, that a council of war pronounced it necessary to return to New York.

In the mean time, Clinton wrote letters, full of specious promises, to buoy up the hopes of Cornwallis by strong assurances that no time should be lost in sending forward a force sufficient for his relief. He informed him that a fleet, under the command of Lord Digby, who had recently arrived at New York, would sail for the Chesapeake by the 5th of October; that Clinton himself was nearly ready to embark with a large body of troops. These flattering assurances from the commander-in-chief induced Cornwallis to avoid a general action. His situation had been for some time truly distressing. Embarrassed between his own opinion and the orders of his superiors, flattered by the promise of timely relief, in such force as to enable him to cope with the united armies of France and America, he waited the result, and would not suffer himself to be impelled by any circumstances to risk his army beyond the probability of success. The mouth of the river at Yorktown was blocked up by the French fleet; the American army, in high health and spirits, strengthened by daily

recruits, led on by Washington, in conjunction with a French army, under Rochambeau, an officer of courage, experience, and ability, were making rapid advances. On the 28th of September, they left Williamsburg, and on the 6th of October, twelve thousand strong, they opened their trenches before Yorktown.

On the 9th, the American batteries began to play upon Yorktown, with twenty-four eighteen and ten inch mortars, which continued through the night. The next morning the French opened a destructive fire from their batteries, without intermission, for about eight hours; and on the succeeding night, a terrible fire was kept up from the whole line, without intermission, until morning. The horrors of this scene were greatly heightened by the conflagration of two British ships, set on fire by the shells of the allies and consumed in the night. The next morning, October 11th, the allies opened their second parallel, at the distance of two hundred yards, and another British ship was consumed by their shells. On the 14th, Washington ordered two battalions to advance to the second parallel, and begin a large battery in the centre and in advance. The enemy met this movement with an incessant fire from two redoubts, in advance of their works, as well as from their whole line, that continued through the night. Washington detached La Fayette in the morning, at the head of the American light infantry, supported by the Baron Vionenil from the line of the French, to advance and storm these redoubts, which had so annoyed them through the night. Lieutenant-Colonel Hamilton commanded the van of the corps. The redoubt was promptly carried by La Fayette, at the point of the bayonet, but the captives were spared. The Marquis sent his aid, Major Barbour, through the whole line of the enemy's fire, to notify the Baron Vionenil of his success, and inquire where he was, to which the Baron replied, "I am not in my redoubt, but shall be in five minutes." In five minutes his redoubt was carried.

On the morning of the 16th, Cornwallis detached Lieutenant-Colonel Abercrombie, at the head of four hundred men, upon a sortie, to destroy two batteries the allies had

erected in the night. He succeeded, and spiked the cannon. The French suffered severely in the defence of these works; but the British gained no permanent advantage. On the afternoon of the same day, the allies opened their batteries, covered with about one hundred pieces of heavy cannon, and such was their destructive fire, that the British lines were soon demolished and silenced. Alarmed for his safety, Cornwallis now prepared to retire; his boats were collected, and a part of his army was embarked across to Gloucester Point, opposite to Yorktown, then under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Tarleton; but a violent storm suddenly arose, which defeated the plan, and it was with the greatest difficulty that the British could recover their boats.

Cornwallis now, seeing that all hope of succor or escape was vain, and that there was nothing left but submission, requested a parley, on the 18th, for twenty-four hours, and that commissioners might be appointed to arrange articles of capitulation. Washington consented, and commissioners were appointed accordingly. On the 19th the arti-



Surrender of Cornwallis.

cles were signed, and the whole British army marched out, *prisoners of war*. The same terms were prescribed by the commissioners to Lord Cornwallis, that had been prescribed

to General Lincoln, at Charleston, just eighteen months before. Lincoln was then refused the honors of war, and on this occasion he was deputed to receive the sword of his lordship. Thus the mission of the Marquis La Fayette to France, in the winter of 1779-1780, was consummated by the fall of the hero of the south, at Yorktown. Cornwallis pressed hard for permission to embark the British and German troops to Europe, under suitable engagements not to serve during the war; also, that the tories might be protected; but both were refused. His lordship was, however, indulged with the permission that the Bonetta sloop of war might pass unsearched; and many of the most obnoxious tories escaped from the rage of their injured and insulted countrymen.

Seven thousand troops, with one thousand five hundred seamen, were taken prisoners with Cornwallis; together with one frigate of twenty-four guns, besides transports, (twenty of which had been sunk or otherwise destroyed,) seventy-five brass and sixty-nine iron ordnance, howitzers and mortars; also a military chest containing two thousand pounds sterling, which, trifling as it was, could not fail to be acceptable to the army. The ships were given to the French.

Washington closed this glorious scene at Yorktown by publishing to the army, both officers and soldiers, in general orders, the grateful effusions of his heart. He ordered the whole to be assembled in divisions and brigades, to attend to divine service, *and render thanks to that God who had given them the victory.* Congress received the letter of Washington on the 24th, announcing the capture of the British army, with the most cordial satisfaction, and immediately resolved to move in procession, at two o'clock, to the Lutheran church, and return thanks to Almighty God, for crowning with success the allied arms of America and France. Congress next resolved, that a proclamation be issued for the religious observance of the 13th of December, then next, as a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, throughout the United States.

Thus joy, gratitude, and praise to God were united, and became universal, and swelled with transports every patri-

otic breast throughout United America. Congress resolved, on the 25th, "that thanks be presented General Washington, Count de Rochambeau, Count de Grasse, and the officers of the different corps, and the men under their command, for their services in the reduction of Lord Cornwallis." They next resolved, "that a marble column be erected at Yorktown, adorned with emblems commemorative of the alliance between the United States and his most Christian Majesty, and inscribed with a succinct account of the surrender of the British army;" and "that two stands of colors be presented to General Washington, and two pieces of ordnance be by him presented to Count de Rochambeau, as trophies of their illustrious victory; and that the Chevalier de la Luzerne be requested to inform his most Christian Majesty, that it was the wish of congress that Count de Grasse might be permitted to accept the same testimonials with the Count de Rochambeau.

Rochambeau, with his army, took up his winter quarters in Virginia; but the troops under the command of St. Simon were embarked for the West Indies, and the American troops returned to their former stations, excepting such cavalry and infantry as were necessary to the service of General Greene; these were sent forward in November, under the command of General St. Clair, to coöperate in the southern war. The French fleet sailed at the same time for the West Indies, and the operations of the season were generally closed. Washington retired to Philadelphia, to give repose to his mind, as well as to confer with congress upon the future exigencies of the nation.

Greene, in the mean time, continued posted on the high hills of Santee, and, after the capture of Cornwallis, a reinforcement from Washington's army was despatched to him under General Wayne. Strengthened by this force, he took up his march for Georgia. The British abandoned their posts as he advanced, and laid waste the country. The Creek Indians also made irruptions, and harassed the state, but Wayne defeated them, and put them to the rout. After many military manœuvres the British abandoned Georgia in July, and the Carolinas in December, 1782.

CHAPTER XI.

AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—*Obstinacy of George III.—Effects of the surrender of Cornwallis—Opposition in parliament—Change of ministry—Sir Guy Carleton appointed to the command in America—Negotiations at Paris—Peace between the United States and Great Britain—General pacification in America and Europe—Treatment of American prisoners by the British—The Jersey prison-ship—Depreciation of the continental currency—Discontents of the army—Mutiny of the Pennsylvania line—Outrage committed upon congress—Decisive measures of Washington—The army disbanded—Washington resigns his commission.*

FROM the beginning of the revolutionary contest, George the Third had been most obstinate and uncompromising in his opposition to the Americans. Even the capture of Cornwallis did not bring him to reason, and, in his speech to parliament, he still urged hostile measures for putting down what he called the “spirit of rebellion.” But the nation had at last begun to open its eyes to the monstrous folly of the American war. Army after army had laid down their arms before the victorious Americans. Millions upon millions of treasure had been wasted in vain efforts to bring them again under the British yoke, yet the attempt was now more desperate than ever. The embarrassments of trade and commerce, caused by the long war, were felt more and more severely every day, and the opposition in parliament grew so formidable, that Lord North’s cabinet saw plainly their administration was approaching its end. At length the house of commons voted an address to the king, requesting him to put an immediate end to the war in America. Further resolves in parliament, condemning the conduct of the ministry, completed the overthrow of Lord North, and, on the 22d of March, 1782, he resigned his place of prime minister.

The Marquis of Rockingham succeeded him, and a new cabinet, friendly to the cause of American independence, was immediately formed; one of the members of which



Charles James Fox.

was Charles James Fox, who had been one of the most powerful among the whig leaders in parliament. Military



Sir Guy Carleton.

operations in America were immediately suspended, and as one earnest of the sincerity of this resolution, the command

of the British forces in America was taken from Sir Henry Clinton, and given to Sir Guy Carleton, who was directed to advance the wishes of the British government for an accommodation with the United States. Agreeably to his instructions, Sir Guy proposed a correspondence with congress, and solicited of the commander-in-chief a passport for his secretary. This was however refused, as the United States had stipulated not to negotiate without the consent of the French government.

As soon as information of the capture of Cornwallis was received at the French court, the government proposed to congress the immediate appointment of commissioners to treat of peace. John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, John Jay, and Henry Laurens, were accordingly chosen. These were met by Mr. Fitzherbert and Mr. Oswald, at Paris, on the part of Great Britain. Negotiations were opened with the American ministers, and at length, on the 30th of November, 1782, provisional articles of peace between Great Britain and America were signed. By these articles, the independence of the states was fully acknowledged. The definitive treaty between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris, on the 3d of September, 1783, by Messrs. Franklin, Adams and Jay, on the part of America, and David Hartley, on the part of Great Britain. A treaty of peace between Great Britain, Spain and Holland, was also concluded on the same day. Peace had been signed with France on the 20th of January, 1783. Thus, a final close was put to the war, both in Europe and America, at the loss of an immense extent of territory to Great Britain, together with fifty thousand men, who perished by the various calamities of war, and the expenditure of not less than one hundred millions sterling. All this enormous loss might have been prevented by a reasonable degree of moderation in conceding the just demands of the colonists at the beginning of the troubles. The measures of the British cabinet were conceived in ignorance, executed with rashness and obstinacy, and led to final calamity and disgrace.

The treatment of the Americans, when taken prisoners,

leaves a dark stain on the character of the British commanders in America. The common usages of war are sufficiently cruel; but the Americans were considered as rebels, and exposed to brutal cruelties, at which humanity shudders. They were tortured with every species of suffering, to induce them to enter the royal service; and hundreds submitted to death rather than bear arms against their country. The Jersey prison-ship has acquired a most melancholy fame. This vessel was stationed in East river, at New York, and was employed chiefly for the imprisonment of seamen. Several affecting narratives are extant, written by the sufferers in this dismal hulk. Their details fill our hearts with sorrow, and arouse our indignation at the barbarity of men, who, calling themselves Christians, practised cruelties more wanton than those of savages. During the last six years of the war, upwards of eleven thousand prisoners died on board the Jersey, the greater number in consequence of inhuman treatment. For years their bones lay in heaps on the shore of Long Island, as the British seldom took care to bury the bodies of their victims. Some years ago these bones were collected into one place, and a monument erected over them. The history of this pile stamps with indelible disgrace the name of Sir Henry Clinton.

But although the war was at an end, the country was left in a state of painful embarrassment. The history of the continental paper currency presents us the most remarkable facts. One of the first acts of the congress which assembled immediately after the battle of Lexington, was to emit bills to the amount of two millions of dollars, which circulated freely, like gold and silver, throughout the country, though nobody knew when or how they were to be redeemed. Within about a month, another million was issued. This had equal success, and, on the 10th of June, 1776, three millions more were added. Paper money now answered every purpose of specie, and millions after millions, at different dates, were put forth, as the exigencies of the colonies required new funds. No reflecting man could indulge an expectation that these bills would ever

be paid; yet such was the patriotism of the inhabitants, that whoever pretended to doubt their value was regarded as disaffected to the cause of freedom; and it is indisputable that, without these paper dollars, the revolutionary war could never have been carried on. But the immense quantities which continued to be uttered by congress, added to the counterfeits on an enormous scale by the British, caused, before long, a depreciation in their current value. Towards the end of 1777, they passed at the rate of two or three for one in silver. In 1778, they were five or six for one; in 1779, twenty-seven and twenty-eight for one; in 1780, fifty or sixty for one; from this it declined to several hundred for one, till, toward the close of the year, they were dropped by common consent.

During this rapid depreciation, new issues were continually made, though the value realized by the government did not correspond to the nominal amount of the emissions, as they were obliged to issue them, in the first instance, at the current rate of depreciation. Between four and five hundred millions were thus put into circulation from first to last, not one of which was ever redeemed. There is no example, in the history of the world, of a financial scheme so bold and successful as this. When the paper ceased to circulate, every one was convinced of the necessity of the measure, and no person regretted it, or seemed to feel its loss. It is true, each man was ostensibly some dollars poorer than before; but the loss of a heap of worthless paper, which could no longer serve any useful purpose, restored a confidence in mercantile transactions, that was of far higher value than the number of dollars it represented. No stagnation of business, nor symptom of what is called in modern phrase a "pressure in the money market," followed this surprising revolution in the finances of the country. As for the final redemption of the bills, every person saw its utter impossibility.

Yet, when it became necessary to disband the army, the most alarming embarrassments arose in consequence of this singular state of affairs. The country possessed no means of paying the soldiers, and they uttered loud mur-

murs. A committee from the army waited on congress and represented their grievances and claims. The discontent among the ranks was further increased by inflammatory writings, circulated anonymously, calling upon the soldiers not to desist from their claims while they had arms in their hands. Washington made every exertion to quell the rising discontents, but the mutinous spirit was so strong that no efforts could hinder it from breaking out into open violence. On the 20th of June, 1783, a body of Pennsylvania troops, with some others, marched from Lancaster to Philadelphia, where congress were sitting, surrounded the state-house, and threatened the members with the last degree of outrage, unless their demands were granted in twenty-four minutes. This gross insult was resented by congress with proper spirit and self-respect. They refused to listen to the demands of the mutineers, and resolved to remove from Philadelphia to Princeton, where they might pursue their deliberations in safety. Washington took the proper steps to suppress and punish the mutineers. He despatched a body of fifteen hundred men, under General Robert Howe, who quickly reduced the malecontents to obedience, without bloodshed. Measures were then taken by congress to provide for paying the army. There was no national treasury, and the only expedient was, to grant certificates to the soldiers, to the amount of their wages, which were to be paid at a future time. By this method they were dismissed, and in some degree satisfied.

The discontent of the soldiery led to no further acts of violence, and the farewell orders of Washington were issued to the army on the 2d of November, 1783, from which the following is a selection:—

“A contemplation of the complete attainment, at a period earlier than could have been expected, of the object for which we contended against so formidable a power, cannot but inspire us with astonishment and gratitude. The disadvantageous circumstances, on our part, under which the war was undertaken, can never be forgotten. The signal interpositions of Providence, in our feeble condition,

were such as could scarcely escape the attention of the most unobserving, while the unparalleled perseverance of the armies of the United States, through almost every possible suffering and discouragement, for the space of eight long years, was little short of a standing miracle." His closing words are,—"and being now to conclude these his last public orders, to take his ultimate leave, in a short time, of the military character, and to bid adieu to the armies he has so long had the honor to command, he can only again offer in their behalf his recommendations to their grateful country, and his prayers to the God of armies. May ample justice be done them here, and may the choicest of Heaven's favors, both here and hereafter, attend those who, under the divine auspices, have secured innumerable blessings for others! With these wishes, and this benediction, the commander-in-chief is about to retire from service. The curtain of separation will soon be drawn, and the military scene to him will be forever closed."

The army was now disbanded by the proclamation of congress, of which Dr. Thatcher gives the following sketch, with the parting scene between General Washington and his officers:—"Painful, indeed, was the parting scene; no description can be adequate to the tragic exhibition. Both officers and soldiers, long unaccustomed to the affairs of private life, turned loose on the world to starve, and to become a prey to vulture speculators. Never can that melancholy day be forgotten, when friends, companions for seven long years in joy and in sorrow, were torn asunder, without the hope of ever meeting again, and with prospects of a miserable subsistence in future. Among other incidents, peculiarly affecting, on this occasion, were the lamentations of women and children, earnestly entreating that those with whom they had been connected in the character of husband and father, would not withdraw from them the hand of kindness and protection, and leave them in despair; but, in several instances, the reply was, 'No; we took you as *companions during the war*, and now we are destitute of the means of support, and you must provide for yourselves.'"

On the 25th of November, 1783, the British army evacuated New York, and the American troops, under General Knox, took possession of the city. Soon after, Washington and Governor Clinton, with their suite, made their public entry into the city on horseback, followed by the lieutenant-governor and the members of council for the temporary government of the southern district, four abreast; General Knox, and the officers of the army, eight abreast; citizens on horseback, eight abreast; the speaker of the assembly, and the citizens on foot, eight abreast. The governor gave a public dinner, at which the commander-in-chief and other general officers were present. The arrangements for the whole business were so well made and executed, that the most admirable tranquillity succeeded through the day and night. On Monday the government gave an elegant entertainment to the French ambassador, the Chevalier de la Luzerne. Washington, the principal officers of New York state and of the army, and upwards of a hundred gentlemen, were present. Magnificent fireworks, infinitely exceeding everything of the kind before seen in the United States, were exhibited at the Bowling Green in Broadway, on the evening of Tuesday, in celebration of the definitive treaty of peace. They commenced by a dove descending with the olive branch, and setting fire to a marron battery.

On Tuesday noon, December 4th, the principal officers of the army assembled at Francis' tavern, to take a final leave of their much-loved commander-in-chief. Soon after, Washington entered the room. His emotions were too strong to be concealed. Filling a glass, he turned to them and said: "With a heart full of love and gratitude, I now take leave of you. I most devoutly wish that your latter days may be as prosperous and happy as your former ones have been glorious and honorable." Having drank, he added, "I cannot come to each of you to take my leave, but shall be obliged to you if each of you will come and take me by the hand." General Knox, being nearest, turned to him. Incapable of utterance, Washington, in tears, grasped his hand, embraced and kissed him. In the

same affectionate manner he took leave of each succeeding officer. In every eye was the tear of dignified sensibility, and not a word was articulated to interrupt the eloquent silence and tenderness of the scene. Leaving the room, he passed through the corps of light infantry, and walked to White-Hall, where a barge waited to convey him to Paulus' Hook. The whole company followed in mute and solemn procession, with dejected countenances, testifying feelings of delicious melancholy, which no language can describe. Having entered the barge, he turned to the company, and, waving his hat, bade them a silent adieu. They paid him the same affectionate compliment, and, after the barge had left them, returned in the same solemn manner to the place where they had assembled. The passions of human nature were never more tenderly agitated than in this interesting and distressful scene.

Congress was now in session at Annapolis, to whom, on the 23d of December, the commander-in-chief resigned his commission. The governor, council, and legislature of Maryland, several general officers, the consul general of France, and numerous citizens of Annapolis, were present. The members of congress were seated, and covered, as representatives of the sovereignty of the Union; the spectators were uncovered, and standing. The general was introduced to a chair by the secretary, who, after a decent interval, ordered silence. A short pause ensued, when Thomas Mifflin, the president, informed the general, that "the United States, in congress assembled, were prepared to receive his communications;"—on which he rose, with dignity, and delivered this address:—

"Mr. President—The great events on which my resignation depended having at length taken place, I now have the honor of offering my sincere congratulation to congress, and of presenting myself before them, to surrender into their hands the trust committed to me, and to claim the indulgence of retiring from the service of my country.

"Happy in the confirmation of our independence and sovereignty, and pleased with the opportunity afforded the United States of becoming a respectable nation, I resign with satisfaction the appointment I accepted with diffi-

dence; a diffidence in my abilities to accomplish so arduous a task, which, however, was superseded by a confidence in the rectitude of our cause, the support of the supreme power of the Union, and the patronage of Heaven.

“The successful termination of the war has verified the most sanguine expectations;—my gratitude for the interpositions of Providence, and the assistance I have received from my countrymen, increase with every review of the momentous contest.

“While I respect my obligations to the army in general, I should do injustice to my own feelings, not to acknowledge, in this place, the peculiar services and distinguished merits of the persons who have been attached to my person during the war. It was impossible the choice of confidential officers, to compose my family, should have been more fortunate. Permit me, sir, to recommend in particular those who have continued in the service to the present moment, as worthy of the favorable notice and patronage of congress. I consider it as an indispensable duty to close this last solemn act of my official life, by commanding the interests of our country to the protection of Almighty God, and those who have the superintendence of them, to his holy keeping.

“Having now finished the work assigned me, I retire from the great theatre of action; and bidding an affectionate farewell to this august body, under whose orders I have long acted, I here offer my commission, and take my leave of all the employments of public life.”

When accepting his commission, congress, through their president, expressed in glowing language to Washington their high sense of his wisdom and energy, in conducting the war to so happy a termination, and invoking the choicest blessings upon his future life.

President Mifflin concluded as follows: “We join you in commanding the interest of our country to the protection of Almighty God, beseeching Him to dispose the hearts and minds of its citizens to improve the opportunity afforded them of becoming a happy nation; and our prayers for you, sir, that your days may be happy, and He will finally give you that reward which this world cannot give.”

CHAPTER XII.

THE CONFEDERATION.—Washington retires to private life—State of the country—Defects of the old confederation—Embarrassments after the termination of the war—Foundation of the Order of Cincinnati—Trouble in the Eastern States—Insurrection of Shays—The militia of Massachusetts raised—Affair of Springfield—Defeat of the insurgents—Tranquillity restored—Plan for a new federal government—Convention of Philadelphia—Formation of the Federal Constitution—Washington elected president—His tour through the country—Hamilton's financial system—United States Bank established—Vermont admitted into the Union—First census—Indian war—Defeat of St. Clair—Wayne's campaign—Defeat of the Indians—Treaty of Greenville—The Whiskey Insurrection in Pennsylvania—Commencement of the French Revolution—Arrival of Genet in the United States—His extraordinary behavior and recall—Jay's treaty—Adams elected president—Hostility of the French Directory—Capture of the Insurgents—Peace with France—Death of Washington.

THE American army being disbanded, the soldiers, covered with honorable scars, returned quietly to their homes. Washington, refusing alike public honors, titles and pay, withdrew to the abode of private retirement, at his farm at Mount Vernon; and the world saw, with astonishment and admiration, an army and its chief voluntarily lay down their arms, after seven years' service, with the only remuneration for their labors which arose from the consciousness of having established the liberties of their country. The United States had now an independent national existence, yet the general government had no consolidation or permanent system. The states during the war had adhered to each other by the pressure of a common danger, and the authority of congress, although resting solely on the spontaneous consent of the several bodies which formed the confederacy, was found sufficient for the

common purposes of war. It was very clear to all thinking men that such a system of administration could not be permanent, and that, being the growth of a sudden necessity, it must perish when the exigencies that called it into existence, had passed away.

Yet, after the return of peace, an attempt was made to continue the government of the confederation. Money for public purposes was raised by congress in annual requisitions upon the states, while each state collected its own revenue by taxation, customs, &c. Endeavors also were made to establish relations with foreign countries by the authority of congress. John Adams was sent as American minister to the court of Great Britain, in 1785, but although he was amicably received, it was found impossible to effect a commercial treaty or to raise a loan, as the government of the states had no efficient head or proper organization. The defects of the government soon began to be felt in commercial embarrassments and financial perplexities. Foreign trade declined, money was scarce, property of every kind depreciated in value, and the country sunk into wide-spread and deep distress. A treaty of amity and commerce was arranged between Prussia and the United States, in 1785, but, from the causes above specified, it led to no perceptible benefit to the country.

Before the army was disbanded, the officers instituted a society, at their camp on the Hudson, designed to perpetuate the friendship they had mutually contracted in their warfare for liberty. In honor of the Roman patriot, Cincinnatus, who, after leading his countrymen to victory, retired voluntarily to his farm, they named it the Society of Cincinnati. The principle of hereditary transmission was adopted, and the "Order of the Cincinnati" was to descend to the eldest son of each member, in regular succession, like an order of nobility. So wide a departure from republican notions, raised a serious clamor, not only in America, but among liberal men in Europe. Much public discussion was the consequence, and the genius of Mirabeau was called forth in an essay against the hereditary principle of the Cincinnati. So strong a disapprobation

caused the society to abolish this anti-republican feature of their constitution, and very few members of the "Order of Cincinnati" are in existence at this day,—sixty years from its foundation.

The unsettled state of public affairs soon led to domestic troubles. The New England states being the most densely peopled, felt most deeply the pressure of the times. New Hampshire, Rhode Island and Connecticut were agitated by the most alarming symptoms of discontent. In Massachusetts the troubles were exasperated to a public and hostile outbreak, known as Shays' rebellion. Seditious movements were made in the western counties, where the people imagined the courts of law to be an insufferable grievance. Inflammatory writings were circulated, tumultuous assemblies held, and at length the malecontents found a leader in Daniel Shays, a minor officer in the revolutionary army. He collected an armed body of several thousand men, at Springfield, in the winter of 1786, who threatened to march to Boston, and, by compulsory measures, to oblige the general court to redress the grievances of the people, which they alleged were brought upon them by enormous taxation and other severities. They, however, thought proper to send forward a petition, instead of marching, sword in hand, to the capital; which, had they done in a prompt and unscrupulous manner, there seems little doubt they would have taken possession of Boston, and dispersed the legislature.

Shays, however, possessed none of the qualities for a revolutionary leader. He made a feeble attempt upon the arsenal at Springfield, on the 25th of January, 1787, but General Shepard, who commanded a body of militia stationed to guard it, dispersed the whole band of insurgents by a single discharge of cannon. Meantime, the militia of the eastern counties were called out by Governor Bowdoin, and placed under the command of General Lincoln. The insurgents, with Shays at their head, took possession of a hill at Pelham. Lincoln marched against them, and Shays, finding his condition desperate, attempted to open a negotiation. He had a force of two thousand

men about the 1st of February, but, after a few weeks, they began to abandon him, and Lincoln, being reinforced, advanced to the attack. Shays retreated, and was pursued through a most severe snow-storm, and, at Petersham, Lincoln overtook him and put his whole force to the rout. Some other skirmishes took place during the latter part of February, but the rebels were entirely defeated, and Shays was driven out of the state. Tranquillity was restored in a few weeks, and Shays, some time afterward, received a pardon from the government.

Every judicious man in the country now saw the necessity of a new form of general government for the states. The first proposal of a federal system was made by Mr. Madison, in the legislature of Virginia. This proposal was encouraged by men of influence in every quarter of the country, and was received with such general favor as to bring forth a resolution in congress, recommending a convention of delegates to be held at Philadelphia, on the second Monday in May, 1787, for the purpose of remodeling the government. Accordingly, delegates were chosen by all the states, and met in convention at the time and place appointed. Washington was president of the convention. The labors of that important assembly continued through four months; but as the debates were carried on with closed doors, we have lost a most valuable and interesting portion of our history. At length the CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES was completed—that scheme of government, under which the American republic arose to wealth, power and national glory, with a rapidity unexampled in the history of the world.

Yet this noblest and wisest political institution that mankind had yet seen, found its enemies. The *anti-federalists*, or opponents of the constitution, formed a strong party. With some, this opposition arose from a sincere apprehension of the danger of a consolidated federal government, with a single chief, who, it was feared, would be too much of a king. Even the sagacious Patrick Henry declared that the constitution had “an awful squinting towards monarchy!” Others opposed it from the mere

spirit of contradiction, or a factious desire to perpetuate the troubles and perplexities of the old system, as desperate men find most profit in desperate times. But the *federalists* were much the stronger party, and, fortunately for the country, their superior talents, influence and respectability brought the minds of the people to incline decidedly in favor of the federal constitution. John Adams, residing in London as American minister, published, in 1787, a most able work, entitled "Defence of the American Constitution." Madison, Hamilton and Jay wrote the "Federalist," a series of essays, displaying, with great acuteness, the excellencies of the new system. These writings had a powerful effect, and before the 14th of July, 1788, ten of the states pronounced in favor of it, and on that day it was ratified by congress, and the AMERICAN REPUBLIC was established. The remaining states shortly after joined the federal union. New York acceded on the 26th of July, 1788, North Carolina, in November, 1789, and Rhode Island, in May, 1790. It had been settled that the constitution should go into operation on the 4th of March, 1789. All the elections were held the year previous.



Inauguration of Washington.

There could be but one voice as to the man who should receive the honor of being the first president of the United

States. George Washington was chosen unanimously. John Adams was vice-president. Washington felt great reluctance at accepting the powers and responsibilities of so high an office, but the wish of his countrymen was to him a command. The first congress was convened at New York, on the 4th of March, and proceeded without delay to raise a revenue by imposing duties on importations; to constitute a federal judiciary by establishing a supreme court; to organize the executive administration, by creating the departments of war, foreign affairs and the treasury. Jefferson was appointed secretary of state; Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; and General Knox, secretary at war. It must strike the reader as most remarkable, that the American republic, which, in a few short years, was destined to become a first-rate naval power, and to carry her flag to the most remote corners of the ocean, did not at this period possess a single ship of war. There was, of course, no navy department. After the adjournment of congress, the president made a tour through New England, where he was received by the inhabitants with an affection bordering on adoration. People of all classes crowded to behold the man whose virtues and talents exalted him, in their view, above the heroes of ancient and modern times; and to present to him the undissembled homage of their grateful hearts. But to none did his visit give more exquisite pleasure than to the officers and soldiers of the "patriot army," who had been his companions in suffering and in victory; who were endeared to him by their bravery and fidelity in war, and by the magnanimity with which, in peace, they endured unmerited neglect and poverty.

At the next session of congress, which commenced in January, 1790, Mr. Hamilton, the secretary of the treasury, made his celebrated report upon the public debts contracted during the revolutionary war. Taking an able and enlarged view of the advantages of public credit, he recommended that not only the debts of the continental congress, but those of the states, arising from their exertions in the common cause, should be funded or assumed by the gen-

eral government; and that provision should be made for paying the interest, by imposing taxes on certain articles of luxury, and on spirits distilled within the country. Upon this report, an animated debate took place. Its recommendations were opposed by that party who had seen, or thought they had seen, in the constitution, many features hostile to freedom, and who remembered that Mr. Hamilton, when a member of the convention, had proposed that the president and senate should be appointed to hold their offices during good behavior. They now expressed their fears that the assumption of these debts would render the government still stronger, by drawing around it a numerous and powerful body of public creditors, who, in all the contests with the states or the people, would be bound, by the strongest of all ties, that of interest, to support it, whether right or wrong. This party, existing principally in the southern states, and professing an ardent attachment to the equal rights of man, took the name of republican. Mr. Madison proposed that whenever the public securities had been transferred, the highest price which they had borne in the market should be paid to the purchaser, and the residue to the original holder. After an eloquent debate, this proposition was rejected. The party denominated federal, and existing principally in the northern states, supported throughout, with great ability and force of reasoning, the plans of the secretary; but, on taking the vote in the house of representatives, they were rejected by a majority of two.

Afterwards this national measure was connected, as is too frequently the case in legislative bodies, with one which had excited much local feeling. It was understood that, should the seat of government be fixed for ten years at Philadelphia, and afterwards permanently at a place to be selected on the Potomac, some southern members would withdraw their opposition to the funding system. A law to that effect was accordingly enacted. The former discussion was then resumed. The plans of the secretary were adopted in the senate, and afterwards in the house; two members representing districts on the Potomac chang-

ing their votes. The debt funded amounted to a little more than seventy-five millions of dollars; upon a part of which three per cent. and upon the remainder six per cent. interest was to be paid. The effect of this measure was great and rapid. The price of the public paper, which had fallen to twelve or fifteen cents on the dollar, suddenly rose to the sum expressed on the face of it. This difference was gained, in most instances, by purchasers of the securities, who, feeling indebted, for this immense accession of wealth, to the plans of the secretary, regarded him with enthusiastic attachment. But in others, this wealth, suddenly acquired without merit, excited envy and dissatisfaction. These joined the republican party, who, fancying they were witnessing the fulfilment of their predictions, became more active in their opposition.

The recommendation of the secretary, to impose additional duties, was not acted upon until the next session of congress. Those on distilled spirits were proposed in order to render the burdens of the inhabitants beyond the Alleghany mountains, where no other spirits were consumed, equal to those of the inhabitants on the sea-coast, who consumed most of the articles on which an impost duty was paid. In the beginning of the year 1791, they were laid as proposed. A national bank, recommended also by the same officer, was in the same year incorporated. Both measures met a violent opposition.

In 1791, Vermont adopted the constitution, and applied to congress to be admitted into the Union. The territory of this state, situated between New Hampshire and New York, was claimed by both, and both had made grants of land within its limits. In 1777, the inhabitants, refusing to submit to either, declared themselves independent. Although not represented in the continental congress, yet, during the war, they embraced the cause of their brethren in the other states, and to them their aid was often rendered, and was always efficient. Agreeably to their request, an act was now passed, constituting Vermont one of the members of the Union. An act was also passed, declaring that the district of Kentucky, then a part of Virginia, should be

admitted into the Union on the 1st day of June, in the succeeding year.

In 1791, was completed the first census or enumeration of the inhabitants of the United States. They amounted to 3,921,326, of which number 695,655 were slaves. The revenue, according to the report of the secretary of the treasury, amounted to \$4,771,000; the exports to about nineteen, and the imports to about twenty millions. A great improvement in the circumstances of the people began, at this period, to be visible. The establishment of a firm and regular government, and confidence in the men whom they had chosen to administer it, gave an impulse to their exertions, which bore them rapidly forward in the career of prosperity.

In 1790, a termination was put to the war, which, for several years, had raged between the Creek Indians and the state of Georgia. Pacific overtures were also made to the hostile tribes inhabiting the banks of the Scioto and the Wabash. These being rejected, an army of fourteen hundred men, commanded by General Harmer, was despatched against them. Two battles were fought near Chillicothe, in Ohio, between successive detachments from this army and the Indians, in which the latter were victorious. Emboldened by these successes, they made more vigorous attacks upon the frontier settlements, which suffered all the distressing calamities of an Indian war. Additional troops were raised, and the command of the whole was given to General St. Clair. With near two thousand men, he marched, in October, 1791, into the wilderness. By desertion and detachments, this force was reduced to fourteen hundred men. On the 3d of November, they encamped a few miles from the villages on the Miami, intending to remain there until joined by those who were absent. But, before sunrise the next morning, just after the troops were dismissed from the parade, they were attacked unexpectedly by the Indians. The new levies, who were in front, rushed back in confusion upon the regulars. These, who had been hastily formed, were thrown into disorder. They, however, with great intrepidity,

advanced into the midst of the enemy, who retired from covert to covert, keeping always beyond reach, and again returning as soon as the troops were recalled from pursuit. In these charges, many brave and experienced officers were killed; the loss of men was also great, and no permanent impression was made upon the enemy. At length, after a contest of three or four hours, St. Clair, whose ill-health disabled him from performing the active duties of commander, determined to withdraw from the field the remnant of his troops. The instant that the directions to retire were given, a disorderly flight commenced. Fortunately for the survivors, the victorious Indians were soon recalled from pursuit, to the camp, by their avidity for plunder; and the vanquished continued their retreat unmolested to the frontier settlements. In this battle, the numbers engaged on both sides were supposed to be equal. Of the whites, the slaughter was almost beyond example. Six hundred and thirty were killed and missing, and two hundred and sixty were wounded,—a loss which proves at once the obstinacy of the defence and the bravery of the assailants.

On receiving information of this disaster, congress, resolving to prosecute the war with increased vigor, made provision for augmenting, by enlistment, the military force of the nation to five thousand men. This force was put under the command of General Wayne. He advanced into the Indian territory, in the autumn of 1793, and erected a fortification on the spot where St. Clair had been defeated, which he named Fort Recovery. The season was too far advanced for military operations, and he wintered in the neighborhood. The early part of the summer was spent in attempts to negotiate with the enemy, and cautious movements on the part of the Americans. At length, on the 8th of August, 1794, he reached the rapids of the Miami, with a force of three thousand men, and marched down the stream to meet the enemy, who were strongly posted in a fortification, skirted by a thick wood and the rocky bank of the Miami, where they had collected two thousand strong. Wayne attacked them on the 20th of

August. After an obstinate battle of an hour, the Indians were defeated and driven from their fort with great loss.



Wayne's victory over the Indians.

In the neighborhood of the battle-field was a strong fort, garrisoned by British troops, although far within the American limits. This fortification, with several others, the British continued to hold, on the plea that the United States had failed to execute some articles of the treaty of 1783; and it was supposed that the Indian hostilities were owing to the intrigues of British agents at these posts. The defeated savages fled from Wayne's army into the shelter of a wood under the guns of this fort, where it was found impossible to dislodge them. Wayne laid waste the Indian towns and cornfields, and completely broke the power of the Indians. On the 3d of August, 1795, a treaty was agreed upon at Greenville, which established peace, and restored the frontiers to tranquillity.

Although the general operation of the federal constitution had been highly successful, yet there were some exceptions. The state of Pennsylvania had shown symptoms of discontent for three or four years; and a seditious manifestation took place in 1794, called the Whiskey Insurrection. The anti-federal party had been strong in this

quarter; but the chief opposition arose against an act of congress, imposing a duty on the distillation of spirits. The opposition grew to such a height, that, in 1794, the law was publicly set at defiance. The revenue officers were obstructed in the execution of their duty, and the marshal was shot at by a body of armed men. Houses were attacked and burnt, and furious outrages perpetrated. The government took prompt and decisive measures to quell the insurrection. The militia of Pennsylvania and the neighboring states were raised and marched against the rioters. They fled without striking another blow, and tranquillity was speedily restored.

In the mean time the French revolution had broken out, and information was received of the declaration of war by France against England and Holland. The United States were greatly interested for the success of France, which had assisted us during our revolution. The French people, at the same time, regarded the Americans as their brethren, bound to them by the ties of gratitude; and when the kings of Europe, dreading the establishment of republicanism in her borders, assembled in arms to restore monarchy to France, she looked across the Atlantic for sympathy and assistance. The new government, recalling the minister whom the king had appointed, despatched the citizen Genet, of ardent temper, and a zealous republican, to supply his place. In April, 1793, he arrived at Charleston, in South Carolina, where he was received by the governor and the citizens in a cordial manner. At his first landing, he proceeded to acts violating the rules of international law, by commissioning armed vessels from Charleston to cruise against the British. This was promptly resented by the British minister at Philadelphia, who complained of Genet's proceedings, and Washington sent instructions, accompanied with rules for the observation of neutrality, to the governors of all the states. Genet, mistaking the character both of his own office and of the American people, attempted to excite a popular clamor against Washington. He issued the most absurd and extravagant inflammatory publications, addressed to the passions of the

people, and actually called upon them to resist the authority of their government. In this outrageous proceeding he was seconded by all the wild, ignorant and senseless demagogues in the country. His language toward the government became so insolent that Washington refused to hold any farther intercourse with him, and the French government were obliged to call him home.

In 1794, the navigation of the Mississippi was secured to the United States by a treaty with Spain, concluded by Mr. Pinckney, American envoy at Madrid. Mr. Adams had returned from England, and Mr. Jay had succeeded him as American minister in the same year. He effected a commercial treaty with Great Britain, which proved very beneficial to the country, although it excited great clamors at the moment. By this treaty, all the American posts occupied by the British were given up, and a general settlement of all disputes between the two countries was concluded.

Washington, who had been re-elected president in 1792, now signified his determination to retire from political life, and John Adams was chosen to succeed him. He entered upon his office in March, 1797. The relations of the United States with France now assumed a hostile complexion. Genet's successors, Fauchet and Adet, practised intrigues and manœuvres inconsistent with their diplomatic character. The language of the French Directory was overbearing and insolent, and at length they issued orders for the capture of American vessels, on the ground that they had permitted themselves to be searched by British cruisers. Hostilities immediately broke out. There was no formal declaration of war by congress, but the government issued an order for the capturing of all armed French vessels. On the 9th of February, 1799, the American frigate Constellation, of thirty-six guns, commanded by Captain Truxton, being on a cruise among the West India Islands, fell in with the French frigate l'Insurgente, of forty guns, and captured her, after an engagement of an hour and a quarter. The Insurgente was much superior in force to her antagonist. On the 1st day of February, 1800, the

Constellation fought another battle with the French frigate La Vengeance, of fifty-four guns. After a most obstinate and bloody engagement of above four hours, the French ship was silenced, but a squall suddenly springing up, enabled her to escape, and she arrived at Curaçao in a shattered condition, with one hundred and sixty men killed and wounded.

The spirit of the country was completely roused by the insults of the French government. Preparations were made for raising an army, and Washington was appointed commander-in-chief. The United States, in arms at home and victorious on the ocean, commanded the respect of their enemy. The directory made overtures of peace. The president immediately appointed ministers, who, on their arrival at Paris, found the executive authority in the possession of Bonaparte as first consul. They were promptly accredited, and, in September, 1800, a treaty was concluded satisfactory to both countries.

While this negotiation was in progress, the whole American people were overwhelmed with sorrow, by the sudden death of the father of his country. On the 14th of December, 1799, after an illness of one day only, Washington expired. Intelligence of this event, as it rapidly spread, produced spontaneous, deep, and unaffected grief, suspending every other thought, and absorbing every different feeling. Congress, then in session at Philadelphia, immediately adjourned. On assembling the next day, the house of representatives resolved "that the speaker's chair should be shrouded in black, and the members wear black during the session; and that a joint committee should be appointed to devise the most suitable manner of paying honor to the memory of the MAN, first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen."

The senate, on this melancholy occasion, addressed a letter of condolence to the president of the United States. "This event," they observe, "so distressing to all our fellow-citizens, must be particularly heavy to you, who have long been associated with him in deeds of patriotism. Permit us, sir, to mingle our tears with yours. On this

occasion, it is manly to weep. To lose such a man, at such a crisis, is no common calamity to the world. Our country mourns a father. The Almighty Disposer of human events has taken from us our greatest benefactor and ornament. It becomes us to submit with reverence to HIM who maketh darkness his pavilion.

“With patriotic pride we review the life of our WASHINGTON, and compare him with those of other countries who have been preëminent in fame. Ancient and modern names are diminished before him. Greatness and guilt have too often been allied; but his fame is whiter than it is brilliant. The destroyer of nations stood abashed at the majesty of his virtues. It reproved the intemperance of their ambition, and darkened the splendor of victory.

“Such was the man whom we deplore. Thanks to God, his glory is consummated. Washington yet lives on earth in his spotless example—his spirit is in heaven. Let his countrymen consecrate the memory of the heroic general, the patriotic statesman, and the virtuous sage; let them teach their children never to forget that the fruits of his labors and of his example *are their inheritance.*”



Tomb of Washington.

Agreeably to the report of the committee, and the unanimous resolves of congress, a funeral procession moved from the legislative hall to the German Lutheran church, where an oration was delivered by General Lee, a representative from Virginia. The procession was grand and solemn, the oration impressive and eloquent. Throughout the Union similar marks of affliction were exhibited. A whole bereaved people appeared in mourning. In every part of the republic, funeral orations were delivered, and the best talents of the nation were devoted to an expression of the nation's grief.

In 1800, congress removed from Philadelphia to a place which had been previously selected; and public buildings were erected on the Potomac, a few miles above Mount Vernon, to which the name of Washington was given, and congress commenced its session for the first time at this place in November.



CHAPTER XIII.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION.—*Purchase of Louisiana—Commercial affairs—War with Tripoli—Destruction of the frigate Philadelphia—March of General Eaton from Egypt—Capture of Derne—Peace with Tripoli—Affairs with Spain—Burr's conspiracy—Reëlection of Jefferson—Troubles with Great Britain—Attack on the Chesapeake—Singular effects of this outrage—Depredations upon American commerce—Paper blockades—Napoleon's Berlin decree—The British orders in council—Mr. Jefferson's gun-boat system—The embargo—Non-intercourse with England—Madison elected president—Erskine's mission—Affair of the President and Little Belt—Revocation of the Berlin and Milan decrees and the British orders in council.*

TOWARDS the close of Mr. Adams' administration, party spirit had risen to an unusual height in the United States. A violent struggle succeeded, at the election of president, between the federal and democratic party. Mr. Adams had lost his popularity, and no choice was made by the people. When the election came to the house of representatives, in consequence of an original provision of the constitution, which has since been amended, thirty-six ballottings took place in the house of representatives, before the president was chosen. At length, Thomas Jefferson was chosen president, and Aaron Burr vice-president. They entered upon their offices amid the heat of high party dissensions, in March, 1801.

The most important event of Mr. Jefferson's administration, was the acquisition of Louisiana by the United States. This country, which the Spaniards had recently conveyed to the French, comprised also an immense extent of territory, out of which have since been formed the states of Arkansas, Mississippi, Missouri, and the unsettled territories of the west. In 1803, the United States purchased it of

France, for fifteen millions of dollars,—a very small sum, considering the intrinsic value of the territory. Yet this transaction was loudly condemned at the time, by shortsighted people, as an extravagant waste of the public money.



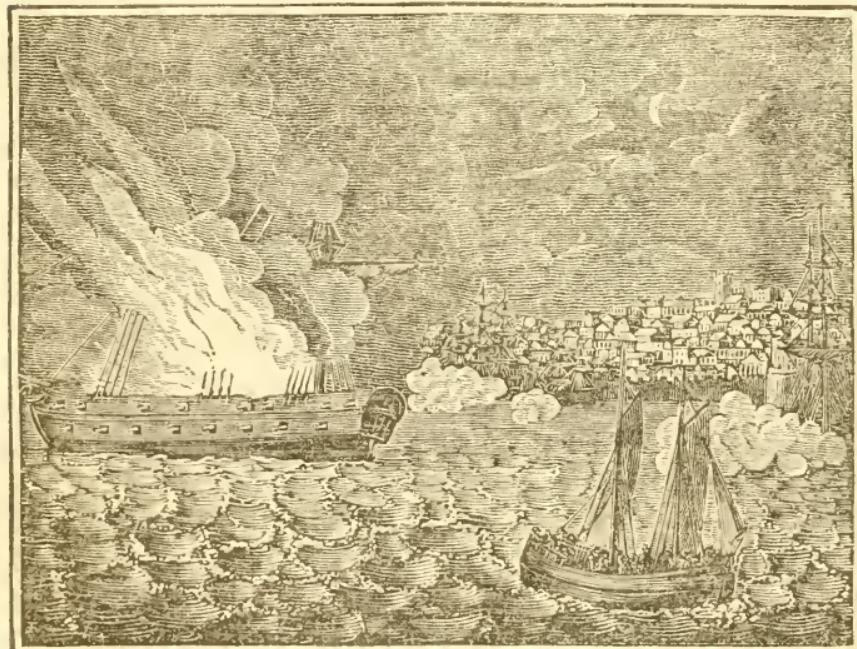
Jefferson.

During Mr. Jefferson's administration, the United States became involved in hostilities with one of the Barbary powers. The bashaw of Tripoli, as early as 1799, demanded the payment of a tribute from the United States, and, being refused, his cruisers captured several American vessels. Hostilities immediately commenced against that piratical power, although the United States possessed only a small number of ships of war. In August, 1801, the United States schooner *Enterprise*, Captain Sterrett, fell in with a Tripolitan cruiser off Malta, and, after an obstinate action of two hours, captured her. Captain Sterrett's instructions did not allow him to make a prize of the vessel; accordingly, after cutting away her masts and throwing her guns overboard, he gave her up to the crew, leaving them sail and rigging sufficient to carry them into port. From this time till 1803, the United States kept several ships of war in the Mediterranean, and some small actions took place off Tripoli.

The American navy had now received some slight augmentation. In 1794, a vote was passed in congress, to

build six frigates, and before many years they were built. These were the Constitution, the President, the United States, the Constellation, the Congress, and the Chesapeake. There were added, also, a few brigs and schooners. The government now resolved to see what could be done to chastise the Barbary pirates. In August, 1803, Commodore Preble was despatched with a squadron, consisting of the Constitution and Philadelphia frigates, the Argus, Siren and Nautilus brigs, and the Vixen and Enterprise schooners. On their arrival off Tripoli, the Philadelphia, in chasing a vessel into port, struck on a rock, and, before she could be got off, was surrounded by the Tripolitan gun-boats and compelled to surrender. On a change of wind she was set afloat and towed into the harbor of Tripoli. The remainder of the squadron bore away for Syracuse.

As none of the Tripolitan cruisers dared venture out of



Burning of the Philadelphia.

port while the American squadron was in the Mediterranean, a scheme was projected to venture boldly into the

harbor of Tripoli, and cut out the Philadelphia, or set her on fire. Lieutenant Stephen Decatur offered to conduct this hazardous undertaking in a small schooner, with seventy-six men. He sailed from Syracuse, accompanied by the brig Siren. On the 16th of February, 1804, they arrived off Tripoli. The schooner entered the harbor at night, and ran alongside the Philadelphia, before it was discovered that she was an enemy. Decatur, with a select body of seamen, boarded her, sword in hand, soon cleared her decks, and gained entire possession of the ship. The castle, the batteries and the Tripolitan flotilla opened a tremendous fire upon them, and the harbor was soon covered with launches approaching to the rescue; but Decatur and his men set fire to the Philadelphia, and escaped to sea without loss.

This daring enterprise having been successfully accomplished, Commodore Preble proceeded to bombard the city. For several successive days, in August, the town was cannonaded, and assaults were made on the shipping in the port. The Tripolitan batteries mounted one hundred and fifty guns, and the town was defended by an army of forty-five thousand Arabs. The enemy sustained much damage, and several of their gun-boats were captured. An attempt was made, on the 16th of September, to blow up the castle and batteries by a fire-ship, the Intrepid, which was loaded with a hundred barrels of powder, and three hundred shells. This vessel, in charge of Lieutenants Wadsworth, Somers and Israel, proceeded into the harbor under cover of night. The design was to set fire to the train on approaching close to the enemy's quarters, while the crew escaped in a boat. Before this could be done, two galleys, of one hundred men each, suddenly shot alongside the Intrepid, and she instantly blew up, with the most terrible effect, destroying both her crew and enemies. It is not known whether this dreadful catastrophe happened by accident or design.

The Tripolitan war still lingered on. The American naval force was insufficient to reduce the city, and all negotiations with the bashaw were without effect. In this

emergency the Americans resorted to a new expedient. Hamet, the former bashaw, had been dethroned and expelled by his brother, and was now an exile in Upper Egypt. General William Eaton was despatched to negotiate with him, in the hopes of gaining him over to the Americans. Hamet commanded an army of Mamelukes, then at war with the Turkish government. Eaton brought him into his plan. Hamet furnished the American general with a strong body of Arabs, well mounted, and seventy Greek soldiers. With this force, Eaton left Alexandria, on the 6th of March, 1805, for an expedition across the sandy desert of Barea, into the Tripolitan territory. In a march of a thousand miles, the troops endured an immense degree of peril and suffering, and, on the 25th of April, arrived before the town of Derne, under the government of the bashaw. The barbarian chief meantime had received intelligence of Eaton's expedition, and was hastening with an army to the relief of Derne. Eaton, at his arrival, learnt that the bashaw was within a day's march: Fortunately the American squadron arrived in the bay of Derne at that precise moment. No time was to be lost; the town was summoned to surrender; but the commandant returned for reply, "My head, or yours!" Eaton stormed the walls on the 27th, and Derne was taken by as strange an armament as ever fought under an American flag—Arab cavalry, Greek infantry, and American marines and sailors. The Tripolitan forces were completely routed, and Eaton fortified himself in the town.

The bashaw experienced considerable delay on his march, and it was the 18th of May before he arrived with his army before the walls of Derne, where Hamet had set up his government. He immediately assaulted the place, but, after a contest of four hours, was repulsed, and withdrew to the mountains, although his troops outnumbered their opponents ten to one. Many skirmishes followed, and, on the 10th of June, another general battle was fought. The small American vessels in the harbor kept up a well-directed fire, and checked every advance of the Tripolitans. The next day the Constitution arrived, and

struck such terror into the enemy that they fled instantly to the desert, leaving most of their baggage behind them.

Many other skirmishes ensued, and the war was continued till June, when the bashaw, finding it impossible to expel the Americans from his territory, and too hazardous to venture his ships to sea, thought best to come to terms. A treaty was accordingly concluded between him and Mr. Lear, the American agent, by which the American captives were ransomed for sixty thousand dollars, and Haimet was left to shift for himself. It is generally thought that, had the management of affairs been left to Eaton, the war would have been closed in a manner much more profitable and honorable to the United States.

The conduct of the British and Spanish governments, at this period, indicated no very friendly disposition towards America, and there was a portion of our citizens who contended that war would be justifiable against Spain; while another portion urged a suspension of commercial intercourse with England, in retaliation for her aggressions. This unsettled state of affairs continued for some time, and proved very embarrassing to commercial enterprise, and highly exciting to political parties. A declaration of war, by the United States, against either of these powers, nevertheless, would have been a rash and desperate deed; and while there was any hope of success in negotiation, it was preferable to avoid hostilities. The controversy with Spain respecting the territory formerly occupied by that nation, was the cause of an expedition on the Mississippi, which, though professedly harmless to the United States, gave the country much alarm, in 1806, and led many people to apprehend a design to dissolve the Union. The citizens of Kentucky and Tennessee had been complaining, for more than two years, of Spanish aggression, and seemed on the point of breaking out into acts of hostility. Some were so highly excited as to threaten to form a separate government in the valley of the Mississippi. A wide field was thus presented to the ambition of Aaron Burr, who was vice-president of the United States from 1800 to 1804, and who had lost the confidence of both the great political

parties of the country. Nothing could allay his appetite for intrigue and notoriety. He became involved in a quarrel with Alexander Hamilton, which resulted in a duel, and Hamilton fell by the hand of Burr, in June, 1804. From that moment Burr was totally ruined in his political fortunes, and his reckless ambition drove him to desperate measures.

He travelled into the western parts of the United States, in 1805 and 1806, and acquainted himself accurately with the state of public feeling there, and the resources which that region offered for the accomplishment of his design. He professed, as yet, no specific object, and possibly had not matured his plans. To different persons he made different declarations, but it was generally understood that his plan was to raise an army and invade Mexico. This, perhaps, was a cover to a more dangerous design; for it is supposed that his ultimate purpose was to erect an independent government in the valley of the Mississippi, composed of the western states and territories, and the newly acquired region of Louisiana, which contained a heterogeneous population, at that time in a state of great discontent. If this plan did not succeed, a blow was to be struck upon Mexico. The full extent of Burr's projects never was known, but many individuals in Washington, Philadelphia, New York, and other places, had knowledge of his designs, to which the public was a stranger. The mystery which attended all his proceedings gave great alarm. The president had early intelligence that something of a treasonable aspect was going forward, and he took measures for watching the movements of Burr. He wrote to the governor of Louisiana, and to the commander of the United States troops in that quarter, to be on their guard against his machinations.

All this while Burr avowed no treasonable or hostile intentions. He even pretended that the president was privy to his designs. His associates also avowed that General Wilkinson, who commanded the United States troops at New Orleans, was a party to all his schemes. Burr's first object appears to have been, to take possession of New Orleans, and there to collect a sufficient number

of discontented and unscrupulous adventurers to maintain himself in arms against the federal authority, which, at such a distance, he supposed could not act against him with any promptness and effect. In the latter part of 1806, Burr collected a body of his adherents on the Ohio. Many persons of respectability and influence joined his standard, some of whom, probably, were not made acquainted with the extent of his undertaking. Having furnished his band with military stores and provisions, he proceeded down the river, declaring, in some places, a design of invading Mexico, and, in others, asserting that he was authorized by the president to keep the Spaniards in order, who remained on the territories of the United States. The number of his actual followers was not large, but it was said that he had several thousand men in readiness to join him on due notice.

But the mystery with which he shrouded his whole scheme, soon caused it to miscarry. Many of his followers became alarmed at the dark rumors and insinuations which prevailed respecting the designs of their leader. Few of them knew, precisely, on what sort of an enterprise they were proceeding, and the unknown dangers of it assumed, every moment, a more portentous aspect. One by one his followers fell off. Some of his agents and correspondents were arrested at New Orleans, and sent to Washington for examination. His friends attempted to represent the matter as unimportant, and no part of the secret could be got out of them. But the suspicion was now general; the public authorities were vigilant, and before Burr could reach New Orleans, he was arrested and sent to Virginia. He was put on trial for treason before the supreme court of the United States, at Richmond, in August, 1807. His confidential friends, who were few, revealed none of his secrets, and, as no legal proof could be obtained of any overt treasonable act committed by him, he was acquitted. The mystery of the affair has never been cleared up to the present day, and "Burr's conspiracy" is destined to exercise the ingenuity of many a historian and romancer, in time to come. After this affair, the ambitious, restless,

and intriguing Aaron Burr, who, had his lot been cast on the other side of the Atlantic, might have gained a crown, sunk into complete obscurity, and passed a long life in retirement, abandoned and forgotten by the whole world. Although acquitted by a jury, the people believed him guilty; and, by their desertion and contempt, he was reduced to a condition of the most abject wretchedness. The ease with which his plans were defeated, demonstrated the strength of the government; and his fate will ever be an impressive warning to those who, in a free country, listen to the suggestions of criminal ambition.

Mr. Jefferson was re-elected president in 1804. Party spirit had abated none of its fierceness; and the Americans almost universally took sides in the contest then raging between France and England. The right of searching American ships and impressing British sailors from them, had been strongly insisted on by the British; and this right, although in the highest degree repugnant to the feelings of the American people, had not been contested by the treaty of 1794. Such a license could not fail to be scandalously abused by the British cruisers, who were then the undisputed lords of the ocean. It was not long before a gross and wanton outrage was perpetrated by the British upon the American flag. On the 22d of June, 1807, the American frigate Chesapeake, Captain Barron, sailed from Norfolk on a voyage to Europe. Not apprehending hostilities, she was in an imperfect state of equipment. She passed the British ships Bellona and Melampus, lying in Lynnhaven bay, whose appearance was friendly. There were two other British ships that lay off Cape Henry, one of which, the Leopard, a heavy frigate, weighed anchor, and in a few hours came alongside the Chesapeake.

A British officer immediately went on board, and demanded certain deserters from the British squadron, said to be on board the Chesapeake. To this, Captain Barron replied, that he did not know of any being there, and that his duty forbade him to allow of any muster of his crew, except by their own officers. During this interview, Barron noticed some proceedings of a hostile nature on board

the adverse ship, but he could not be persuaded that anything but menace was intended by them. When the British officer departed, he gave orders to clear his gun deck, and, after some time, he directed the men to their quarters secretly, and without beat of drum; still, however, without any serious apprehensions of an attack. Before these orders could be executed, the Leopard commenced a heavy fire; which, unfortunately, was very destructive. In about thirty minutes, the hull, rigging, and spars of the Chesapeake were greatly damaged; three men were killed, and sixteen wounded; among the latter was the captain himself. Such was the previous disorder, that, during this time, the utmost exertions were insufficient to prepare the ship for action, and Captain Barron thought proper to strike his colors. The British captain refused to accept the surrender of the Chesapeake, but took from her crew the three men formerly demanded as deserters, and a fourth, claimed as a runaway from a merchant ship. This gross and wanton outrage inflamed the whole population of the United States with indignation, and, for the moment, extinguished all party spirit in the national feeling which it aroused. The president issued a proclamation, ordering all British ships out of the waters of the United States. The British government disavowed the act of Admiral Berkley, who commanded the squadron to which the Leopard belonged, and removed him from his command on the American station; but the claim of the right of search and impressment was not abandoned.

But the attack on the Chesapeake produced more important results in the sequel—results never foreseen nor imagined either by the Americans or the British. The outrage upon the American flag sunk deep into the minds of the people, and the history of the affair led to the conclusion that there was a lack of discipline in the American navy. A determination was adopted never to afford the chance for a repetition of the insult; and a system of the most perfect and admirable discipline was introduced into the American naval service. Every ship that put to sea was manned with a crew perfectly trained to meet the enemy at a

moment's warning; and the consequence was, that when the war with Great Britain broke out, the American navy struck at once into a brilliant career of victories that threw all Europe into astonishment. A striking instance of retributive justice! A wanton and unjustifiable outrage of the British led the way to their own defeat and mortification!

The insignificance of the American navy at this period, and the wide extent of American commerce, offered the strongest temptations to the British. Possessing a thousand ships of war, and having no rival on the ocean, they considered it in their power to plunder and insult every maritime nation with perfect impunity. Actuated by the spirit of rapacity and insolence, the British cruisers made no scruple to capture American ships and impress their crews whenever it suited their convenience. Seven frigates, large and small, with a few minor craft, constituted the whole effective naval force of the Americans; yet, while the national flag was exposed to constant insults, nothing was done to increase the naval defence of the country except building a large fleet of gunboats. This scheme of Mr. Jefferson proved a most signal failure. The gunboats were of very little service in harbor, and good for nothing at sea, and they speedily fell into contempt and neglect.

Remonstrances against the spoliations and insults of the British proved of no avail; all demands for redress were refused, and they now carried on their depredations upon a grand scale. Setting at defiance the laws of nations, they adopted the system of "paper blockade," by which a whole coast was laid under a commercial interdict. France and all other countries in possession of the French were in this manner cut off from all connection with neutral nations; and American ships bound to those countries were captured by British cruisers, carried into port, and condemned by the British admiralty courts.

Such a proceeding was nothing less than a gross public robbery, and soon involved the United States in embarrassments with the French. Napoleon declared that if the United States submitted to this arrogant assumption of power by the British, they assumed, in so doing, an attitude

of hostility toward France. To counteract the British paper blockade, he determined to retort it against Great Britain. This led to the famous Berlin and Milan decrees. From the imperial camp at Berlin, on the 21st of November, 1806, he issued a decree, complaining of the violation of the rights of nations by the British government, and declaring that it had become necessary to enforce against them their own maritime code. The British islands were therefore declared in a state of blockade, and all intercourse with them was forbidden to neutral nations. The British government retorted on their part, on the 7th of January and 11th of November, 1807, by issuing their orders in council, declaring in a state of blockade all ports in Europe from which the British flag was excluded, and all trade in the products or manufactures of such countries, contraband. Napoleon replied to this by a decree, dated at Milan, on the 17th of December, 1807, declaring that every ship, of whatever nation, which should submit to a search from an English vessel, should be liable to capture and condemnation as English property. The same penalty was denounced against all ships holding any intercourse with Great Britain or her colonies, or any country occupied by British troops.

In this extraordinary manner, the commerce of the United States became the prey of the two great belligerent powers, and, between Scylla and Charybdis, saw nothing but destruction. Unjustifiable as these acts were, in both parties, Napoleon was more reasonable than the British government. He declared that the Berlin and Milan decrees should be rescinded as soon as the British abandoned their own unjustifiable and barbarous system of maritime plunder; and this was all the satisfaction the Americans could get amidst their calamities. More than a thousand of their vessels, most of them with rich cargoes, were captured before the year 1812.

Yet, strange as it may seem, the ocean was still covered with American ships! The reckless and adventurous spirit of the merchants incited them to the most desperate enterprises, and when a ship was captured, another immediately

took her place. Such of these as escaped the piracies of the belligerent powers, made profits so enormous, that the avarice of the traders received a tenfold stimulant, and the spirit of commercial avarice continued to rush to sea with every plank that could be made to float. Commerce became a lottery, in which enormous prizes came up among a great number of blanks. Some extraordinary device was thought necessary to save the American commerce from total destruction ; for, although some individuals grew rich in these adventures, the country was a great loser. Such an expedient was the embargo, which, in the winter of 1807, was laid on American shipping, by act of congress. By this act, all trade with Great Britain, France and other nations, was interdicted. The most violent clamors were raised throughout the country, especially in the maritime towns, by this act. The embargo was denounced as unconstitutional, and the two parties which divided the country were inflamed into the most bitter animosities. The expediency of the measure was, indeed, very questionable at the outset. It was impossible to enforce the embargo law to the full extent, especially in the eastern states, where it was particularly disrelished. After considerable distress, occasioned by a stagnation of business, which affected all classes, the embargo was partially repealed at the end of a year, and another scheme put upon trial, in the shape of a non-intercourse act, by which all commerce with Great Britain and France was interdicted.

Mr. Jefferson, having served two terms, retired from office, and James Madison was elected president in 1808. His administration commenced in March, 1809, and was marked, in the beginning, by an event which, for a short time, opened new and flattering prospects for the country.

Erskine, the British minister to the United States, proposed an arrangement for the settlement of the disputes between the two countries, giving positive and official assurances that the orders in council should be revoked, as far as concerned the United States, provided the non-intercourse with Great Britain should be repealed. He also offered reparation for the attack on the Chesapeake, and

agreed that an envoy extraordinary should be sent by Great Britain to conclude a treaty for the full adjustment of all affairs depending between the United States and Great Britain. These proposals were gladly embraced by the American cabinet, and a treaty was signed and ratified on the 19th of April, 1809, comprising an adjustment of all the disputes between the two powers in relation to the above points. Mr. Madison, confiding in the good faith and sincerity of the British minister, immediately issued his proclamation, announcing that he had received official information that the orders in council would be repealed on the 10th of June, and that the trade between the United States and Great Britain might be renewed on that day.

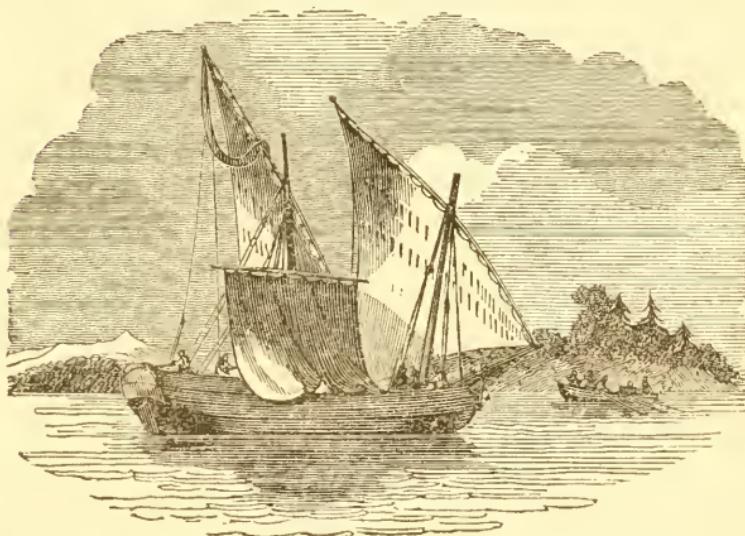
This announcement caused as much joy throughout the country as a proclamation of peace. The event was celebrated everywhere by public rejoicings and illuminations, and all parties united in applauding the measure and its promoters. This universal exultation, however, was soon followed by the most mortifying disappointment. The British government disavowed the treaty, and recalled their minister, on the plea that he had transcended his instructions.

Nothing was left again to the United States but vain remonstrances and negotiations, while their commerce continued to be plundered and their flag insulted. Erskine's successor at Washington, Mr. F. J. Jackson, publicly insulted the American government by the insolence of his language. They refused to hold any further intercourse with him, and he was forced to return home. The nation had endured so long a series of outrages, that the British sought now for every occasion to repeat their insults. British ships of war infested the coast of the United States, fired upon the vessels, and imprisoned the crews. This spirit of daring insolence, however, soon met with a severe rebuke. On the 16th of May, 1811, a encounter took place between an American and a British ship of war, off the capes of Virginia. The British sloop-of-war Little Belt fell in with the United States frigate President, on a dark evening, when the ships did not understand each other's force. Commo-

dore Rogers, who commanded the President, hailed the Little Belt, and was answered by a shot. Broadsides were then fired by both ships, till the Little Belt ceased firing, with thirty-two men killed and wounded. Captain Bingham, of the Little Belt, published a statement of the case, representing it as a hostile attack upon his ship, and affirmed that the President fired the first gun. The British government sustained their captain, and demanded satisfaction. A court of inquiry was ordered by the Americans. Full evidence appeared that the British ship began the attack, and after a clear statement of the case by Mr. Monroe, the secretary of state, the British cabinet appeared convinced that the Americans were in the right. They could not be ignorant of the hectoring and insolent character of their naval commanders, at this epoch of Britain's maritime supremacy, and nothing further was said about the affair. Furthermore, they made amends for the outrage upon the Chesapeake, by giving up the men taken from her, and bestowing a pension on the families of the killed and wounded.

But the main points in dispute between the two countries still remained unsettled. American ships continued to be captured, the orders in council remained in force, and affairs tended rapidly toward a crisis. On the 1st of May, 1810, congress had passed an act, declaring that if either Great Britain or France should, before the 3d of March following, cease to violate the neutrality of the United States, the non-intercourse should be repealed with regard to that power. On learning this measure, the French government informed the American minister at Paris that the Berlin and Milan decrees would be revoked on the 2d of November, 1810. A proclamation from the president, in consequence, announced that the non-intercourse with France had ceased. When the American minister at London pressed the British government to follow this example, he was answered that no proof existed of the repeal of Napoleon's decrees. In fact, the repeal had never been formally made public at Paris, although the capture of American vessels by the French ceased at the time speci-

fied. At length, after much negotiation, Napoleon published his act of repeal on the 28th of April, 1811. The British cabinet then, in consequence of promises repeatedly given to follow the example of France, issued, on the 23d of June, 1812, a conditional revocation of the orders in council. This measure, had it been adopted a few months sooner, would have prevented the war of 1812, and changed the whole subsequent course of American history.



CHAPTER XIV.

SETTLEMENT OF THE WESTERN STATES.—*Expedition of Daniel Boone to Kentucky—Henderson's expedition—Indian wars—Battle of Blue Licks—Emigration to the west—Settlement of Tennessee—Settlement of Ohio—Purchase of Indian lands—Expedition of Lewis and Clarke—Intrigues of the British among the Indians—Hostility of Blue Jacket and Tecumsch—Impostures and intrigues of the prophet—Treaty of the Wabash—Negotiations with Tecumsch—Confederacy of the Indian tribes against the United States—Indian murders and robberies—General Harrison marches against the Indians—Battle of Tippccanoe—Defeat and dispersion of the enemy—Flight of the prophet.*

WE must now suspend our narrative of the foreign relations of the United States, in order to give the reader a connected relation of the exploration and settlement of the vast American domains in the west. The long chain of the Allegany mountains, drawn like a belt along the back frontier of the Atlantic states, was for many years the boundary, not only of settlement, but even of knowledge and ideas respecting the North American continent. The discoveries which the French from Canada and Louisiana made of the regions on the Mississippi, sufficiently showed that the original notions of the narrowness of the continent were very far from the truth. It was long before the settlers suspected the magnitude of the territory which lay between the mountains and the river, and that this comprised a valley, the most extensive, the most fertile, and the most finely watered, that exists, probably, on the face of the globe. It was obvious, however, that beyond the mountains there lay a vast region to which the United States had an undoubted claim. As, therefore, the eastern territory became comparatively filled up, and the spirit of emigration and enterprise received new stimulants, the

eyes of the people were turned in that direction. The settlement of this region, however, was attended with so many dangers, that only a few of the most adventurous and brave spirits attempted at first to break through these barriers.



Colonel Boone making a settlement in Kentucky.

Daniel Boone, at first a farmer and a hunter, and afterwards a colonel, had the merit of first penetrating into and exploring Kentucky. On the 1st of May, 1769, he set out, with five companions, from his farm on the Yadkin, in North Carolina. He passed the mountain wilderness, and, on the 7th of June, found himself on the banks of a river flowing westward toward the Mississippi. Ascending an eminence, he saw spread before him the vast and beautiful forest plains of Kentucky. Plunging into the bosom of this fruitful wilderness, he found it peopled with numberless wild animals, particularly buffaloes, in immense droves. The Indians, however, were already lying in wait to attack the adventurers. That race seem to have felt an instinctive conviction that the moment in which a white man should fix his foot on the soil west of the Alleghenies, would be fatal to the name and existence of the red tribes. They, therefore, manifested their hostility at

the very outset. As Boone and one of his companions were straying from the rest of the party, they were set upon by the Indians and made prisoners. They experienced great cruelty, and expected more; but Boone, always on the watch, caught a moment when the savages lay in deep slumber, touched his companion, and they made their escape. He soon after had the satisfaction of meeting his brother, who had come across the mountains in search of him. They spent a considerable time in roaming about this vast country, where there was not a white man except their own party, exposed to continual dangers, but finding delight in this wild independence. At length Boone, in 1773, brought his family into the country; they were accompanied by five other families, and forty persons more joined them on the road. In their passage across the mountains, they were attacked by Indians, and lost six of their number.

Kentucky now began to attract the attention of the government. Governor Dunmore, of Virginia, appointed officers to survey the country, and engaged Boone to attend them as a guide. He accordingly completed, along with them, in sixty days, a tour of eight hundred miles, which enabled them to form a more complete idea than before of the extent and capabilities of the country. Soon after, a colonial undertaking was projected on a greater scale. Nathaniel Henderson, a self-taught man, who had raised himself by his talents to the judicial bench, crossed the Alleghanies with ten wagons, loaded with coarse woollen cloths, spirits, and other articles for trading with the Indians. With the aid of Boone, he convened a meeting of the Cherokees at Wataga, in March, 1775, where he concluded a treaty, by which they ceded to him one hundred square miles of territory on the Kentucky and Ohio. An old Cherokee, however, closed the transaction by saying, "Brothers, we have given you a fine land, but you will have trouble in *settling* it." Henderson now vacated his seat on the bench, and commenced sovereign and legislator. By grants of valuable land on the most liberal terms, he attracted settlers from all parts, composed a new

code of laws expressly for them, and administered the government without reference to any authority higher than his own. The whole of this proceeding, however, was considered absolutely inconsistent with the duties which he owed as a British subject. The purchase of lands, and, much more, of a kingdom, had been expressly prohibited, without the concurrence of the governors and provincial assemblies. Henderson's proceedings were not sanctioned by the government; all persons were forbidden to join him, and he himself was outlawed, and a reward offered for his apprehension. But the warrants of government could not yet be executed on the banks of the Ohio. The Indians, having made a fair bargain, considered it a point of honor to maintain him in possession of the territory, and his colony was daily augmented by new emigrants.

Henderson, however, was unable permanently to establish his claim. The legislature of Virginia decided against his pretensions, but made him and his associates an indemnity, by granting them two hundred thousand acres of land, at the mouth of Green river, with which they were satisfied. The system of colonization in the western territory, being thus fairly put in train, seemed likely to advance with rapid steps; but it encountered a powerful check from the revolutionary war. The British government, by the most inhuman policy, engaged the savages as their allies, and the frontier settlements were soon exposed to all the horrors of Indian warfare. At Boonsborough they began their hostilities by hovering round the settlement, destroying the cattle, and shooting the men at the plough. As their numbers increased, they made bolder advances, and closely invested the fortification in which the settlers had secured themselves. Boone himself, sallying out to obtain provision, was captured. He found means, however, to ingratiate himself with the Indians, and his life was spared. He was carried off, first to Detroit, and then to Chillicothe. Here, seeing a body of four hundred Indians, painted and armed for an attack upon Boonsborough, he stole off, and, travelling one hundred and sixty miles, with only a single meal, reached the fort.

The Indians appeared in a few days, and invested it, but, not being skilful in this species of warfare, they were repulsed by the small body of defenders, and obliged to raise the siege. The Indians, however, laid waste the neighboring settlements, and hostilities were kept up without any abatement. A bloody battle was fought at Blue Licks on the 19th of August, 1782. A body of settlers, to the number of one hundred and seventy-six, rashly attacked a very superior force of Indians, and were defeated, with the loss of sixty-one killed and eight made prisoners.

The termination of the revolutionary war checked the hostile incursions of the savages, and they were obliged to abandon Kentucky to the settlers. The fertility of the soil, which was found superior to that of any of the old states, the desire to possess landed property, and the spirit of enterprise kindled by the late contest, united to urge the Americans into this path of adventure. A tide of population began to flow across the Alleghanies, amounting sometimes to twenty thousand persons in a year, and producing a growth the most rapid, perhaps, that ever took place in any society. In 1782, there were only a few hundred inhabitants; in 1790, they had increased to seventy-three thousand; in 1800, to two hundred and twenty thousand. In the first enthusiasm of emigration, many persons, not being able to dispose of their property in the Atlantic states with sufficient despatch, are said to have abandoned it altogether, rather than delay their departure. Yet the difficulties of emigration were not small; the steep ridge of the Alleghanies was to be crossed, over which no road existed passable for carriage or wagon. All who emigrated went on foot or on horseback. They were exposed to danger from the Indians, who, though unable to make head in open combat, carried on desultory and destructive attacks.

Troubles also beset them after these difficulties and dangers were surmounted. The business of disposing of the lands was not yet reduced to a regular system; neither the description of the locality, nor the mode of conveying the title, was sufficiently accurate, and in many cases gross

impositions were practised. Lots of one hundred thousand acres of territory, that never existed, were sold in Europe, and even in the great towns of the United States. The consequence was, that the titles in Kentucky were, in general, exceedingly vague, and subjected to conflicting claims, which could only be settled by the tedious remedy of a lawsuit. The only check to this evil which the government could devise, was, to ordain that the old claimant, who ejected the actual possessor, should indemnify him for all expenses incurred in bringing it under cultivation; a penalty which, joined to the previous lawsuit, proved often a sufficient bar to the enforcement even of a legal right. Kentucky was admitted into the Union in 1792.

Kentucky was found to be bounded on the south by a long and lofty branch of the Alleghanies, called the Cumberland or Laurel Mountains; and, so long as fertile tracts of unoccupied land continued to be found in abundance in Kentucky, no attempt was made to pass this barrier. When, however, the crowds which came yearly over the mountains, found all the best land occupied, they began to look across the mountains, and a brisk movement took place in that direction. They found a soil highly favorable to vegetation, and watered by fine streams; but here it was necessary to travel in caravans, to guard against the attacks of the Cherokees. A bloody war was to be maintained with that powerful tribe, who were, at length, partly subdued and partly conciliated. Tennessee, which, in 1790, had so few inhabitants that it was not thought advisable to number them, contained, in 1800, a population of one hundred and five thousand. The state was admitted into the Union in 1796.

After the settlement of Kentucky and Tennessee, a vast range of territory, extending twelve hundred miles along the northern bank of the Ohio, remained still in the undisturbed possession of the natives. The districts bordering on Pennsylvania and Canada had been formerly a debatable ground between the French and English, and were occupied only by military posts. The most important of these was Fort Du Quesne, which fell into the hands of

the English, during the war of 1756, and subsequently became Pittsburg. After the peace of 1763 had confirmed all these regions to Great Britain, that government, by a most absurd regulation, prohibited the formation of settlements upon any waters except those flowing into the Atlantic. The tempting aspect and luxuriant fertility of the plains of the Ohio, attracted emigrants in spite of every obstacle. But the hostility of the Indians, to which they were exposed, without any protection, rendered their situation extremely precarious. These dangers increased during the war of independence, when these fierce tribes were supported by British aid. It was not till the year 1788, that the Ohio Company of New England formed a settle-



Settlement of Marietta.

ment, on a considerable scale, at Marietta, at the confluence of the Muskingum and the Ohio. The settlers continued to be harassed by the Indians, whose enmity broke out repeatedly into open war, till, in 1795, a pacification was effected at Greenville, and the government of the United States began, on a large scale, that system of purchase, which has since proved so rich a source of income to the country. The Wyandots, Delawares, Potowatamies, Kickapoos, and other tribes, received the value

of twenty thousand dollars in manufactured goods, together with an obligation on the part of the United States to pay them annually the value of nine thousand five hundred dollars. The Indians ceded to the United States the most valuable of the lands on the north bank of the Ohio, to its junction with the Miami. In this transaction the red men sold, like Esau, their birthright and their home for a trifle. Yet when we reflect, that, by this process, vast regions, that were then a howling wilderness, have been converted into the abode of populous and civilized communities, and that it was a proceeding much more equitable and mild than those which have commonly effected this object, we feel our censure of it disarmed.

The government of the United States, having thus secured the peaceable disposal of a great extent of rich territory, soon adopted a systematic mode of distribution, which at once secured the titles of the proprietors, and brought an ample revenue into the treasury. The land was partitioned into townships of six miles square. Those townships were subdivided into sections of six hundred and forty acres, and these into quarter sections. The lands were put up to sale in quarter sections, and reservations were made for the erection of schools and seminaries of learning. Ohio, which, in 1787, contained only five thousand inhabitants, in 1802 numbered sixty thousand. Ohio was admitted into the Union in 1802.

Ohio being thus speedily filled up, the bold enterprise of the American emigrant pushed him forward into new regions, where wide tracts of rich land might be found. By the Indian treaty of 1795, the Americans had obtained some territories beyond the Miami. In 1804, 1805, and 1809, fresh treaties conveyed to them the best of the lands between that river and the Wabash,—the lowest and largest tributary of the Ohio. This was created into a territory under the name of Indiana.

A bold and hazardous exploring expedition was projected by the American government, destined to cross the entire breadth of the continent, to penetrate into regions known hitherto only by the faintest rumor, and to reach the

Pacific, the grand western boundary of America. Its first destination was to ascend to its source the Missouri, already known as the greatest tributary of the Mississippi, or rather as the primary river, to which the Mississippi itself is subordinate. This expedition was planned by President Jefferson, a zealous promoter of interior discovery; and it was led by Captain Meriwether Lewis, his private secretary, and by Captain William Clarke, with a band of troops and attendants, amounting in all to forty-five; of which sixteen, however, were only to proceed to a certain distance. They had a keel-boat, fifty-five feet long, accompanied by two open boats, called periogues. On the 16th of May, 1804, after a winter spent in preparation, they were afloat on the Missouri. Some miles up that river, the French had already founded the village of St. Charles, still peopled by their nation to the number of four hundred and fifty.

The Osage river is the first grand tributary of the Missouri. It runs from the southwest through a fertile country. The people of the same name, comprising three tribes, of upwards of twelve hundred warriors, appeared large and



Indians hunting in deerskins.

well-formed, but less warlike than the northern Indians, who have also the advantage over them of using the rifle. The expedition then came to the important tributary of the Kansas, flowing from the westward, and which, at the

junction, is more than half the breadth of the Missouri. The Indians of the same name, on its banks, have been reduced to three hundred,—as, though equally fierce and warlike, they were unable to withstand the fire-arms with which their enemies, the Sauks and Ayauways, have been supplied by the European traders. Higher up they came to the great estuary of the Platte, coming from sources far in the west, and rolling a more rapid stream than the Missouri itself. This river is occupied by considerable tribes of Indians. The Pawnees ranked once among the most numerous of the Missouri races; and, though they have suffered severely in their contests with the Indians of the west, they still count four considerable bands. The Ottos, once their rivals, are now much reduced, and obliged to place themselves under their protection. Both these tribes cultivate the ground, and employ themselves only occasionally in hunting. The Kite Indians, farther to the west, are constantly on horseback, and are so named from the rapidity of their movements. They are the fiercest of all the Indians, never yielding in battle, or sparing their enemies.

Above the Platte, the Missouri became less rapid and more winding; and the scenery, consisting of a valley enclosed between two ranges of bold heights or bluffs, was extremely interesting. Here the Americans had a conference with fourteen of the Ottoe and Missouri Indians. The grand chief, indeed, whose name in English signifies Little Thief, was unfortunately absent; but Big Horse, White Horse, and Hospitality, held a most amicable conference, expressed their satisfaction with the change of government to the United States, and hoped their great father, the president, would send them arms for hunting and defence. The Missouri was found here to wind in an extraordinary manner. Near this spot, the Americans were visited by eight chiefs of the Ottos and Missouris, among whom was now Little Thief, accompanied not only by Big Horse, but by Crow's Head, Black Cat, Big Ox, and Big Blue Eyes. With these worthies a very amicable council was held, concluded by a dram; and as they honestly confessed, that,

in the present war, they had been themselves the aggressors, by stealing two horses and some corn, Captain Lewis more readily and hopefully undertook to mediate an accommodation. Proceeding upwards, they came to the Ricaress, a handsome and well-proportioned race, and in their behavior somewhat more meritorious than the others. Their chiefs, Lighting Crow and Eagle's Feather, declined the proffer of whiskey, and expressed wonder that their great father should send them a liquor which made men fools. They received presents with thankfulness, but did not beg them in the importunate style of the former Indians.



Indian dance.

By the time the party reached the latitude of 47° , sixteen hundred miles above the Missouri junction, a cold wind blew from the northwest, ice began to form on the rivers, and all the symptoms of winter were thickening. They determined to build a fort, where they might spend the winter with some comfort, and be ready in the spring to start for the head of the Missouri and the passage of the Rocky Mountains. They called it Fort Mandan, from the Indian people among whom they now were. Here they spent the winter. On the 7th April, 1805, the party broke

up from Fort Mandan, thirty-two strong, in six canoes, and two large periogues. On the 13th, they passed the influx of the rapid stream of the Little Missouri, and on the 26th came to the much more important river of the Yellowstone, descending from the Black Mountains, and almost rivalling the Missouri itself. These two rivers rolled through wide plains, varied with wood, and animated by vast herds of buffalo, deer, elk, and antelope. The abundance of game was now most extraordinary. Buffaloes were seen to the number of three thousand, and on some occasions even ten thousand at once. They were intermingled, however, with animals of a more formidable character, among which the brown bear was preëminently terrible.

Continuing to ascend in an almost due westerly direction from the junction of the Yellowstone, the party came to two great channels, or forks, as the Americans call them, which involved the leaders in great perplexity. One flowed from the north and the other from the south, and they were unable to decide which was the real Missouri, by ascending which they would reach the head of the Columbia. The great falls of the Missouri were to afford the only sure test by which this doubtful question was to be solved. In search of these they formed a light exploratory expedition, depositing their heavy goods in a hole, or *cache*, as the French traders called it, floored with dry branches, covered with skins, and earth over them. In two days they came to a ridge, from the top of which they had a beautiful view of the Rocky Mountains, now completely covered with snow, and consisting of several ranges rising above each other, till the most distant mingled with the clouds. On the following day a sound was heard as of a distant waterfall, and spray driven before the wind rose high above the plain like a column of smoke. The sound, swelling as they approached, became at length too tremendous to be anything but the great fall of the Missouri. Captain Lewis, hurrying impatiently over some rugged rocks which intervened, at length reached the centre, and enjoyed the sublime spectacle of this stupendous object, which, since the creation, had been lavishing its magnificence on the desert.

The river here throws itself down a precipice of three hundred yards wide, for about a third of which breadth it falls in one smooth and unbroken sheet.

The identity of the Missouri being thus established beyond all controversy, the expedition was immediately moved up the river. The voyage was laborious, there being a rapid current against them, and the channel often obstructed by inlets and shallows. The first mountain ranges now hemmed in the river more closely, and often hung over it in perpendicular cliffs. It was not, however, till the 19th July that they came to the grand gates of the Rocky Mountains. Of all pass-scenery in the world, this appears to be the most awful. The rocks, for upwards of five miles, rising perpendicularly from the water's edge, form a most sublime and extraordinary spectacle. For three miles there is not a spot, except one of a few yards, on which a man can stand between the water and the perpendicular mountain-wall. The frowning darkness of these rocks projecting over the river, and menacing destruction to all beneath, appeared to the navigators truly awful. The Missouri, at some distance above, was found separating into three branches, which, coming from the loftiest recesses of the rocky chain, united to form it.

Continually ascending towards the most central recesses of the Rocky Mountains, they at last came to a point where a foot could be placed on each side of the river; and one of the party, in a fit of enthusiasm, thanked God that he had lived to bestride the Missouri. Proceeding onward, they reached a small gap, formed by high mountains on each side; from the foot of one of which welled out the spring-head of this greatest river in the world, and whose channel for three thousand miles they had so laboriously ascended. They had now reached the hidden sources of that river, which had never yet been seen by civilized man; and as they quenched their thirst at the chaste and icy fountain,—as they sat down by the brink of that little rivulet,—they felt themselves rewarded for all their labors and all their difficulties. Proceeding onward, they found the roads excessively rough, strewed with rocks and large stones,

over which it seemed absolutely impossible to ride; but the fine Indian horses, quite accustomed to these obstacles, carried them easily and swiftly over every difficulty. At length they came in view of a mountain, the loftiest yet seen, and were told that its rocky sides hemmed in the river so close as to prevent all possibility of passing. It was necessary, therefore, to set out in a different and more northerly direction, by which they might reach the river below this obstruction. They had a very severe journey, and the Americans, though they could endure considerable hardship, were ill able to brook a privation of the first wants of nature, which, in the course of the journey, began to be experienced. Their first resource was to kill and eat the horses on which they rode, though rather too meagre for the purpose. They were next fain to purchase and dress the dogs which the natives kept for domestic purposes, though they themselves had so little idea of eating them, that they called the strangers by the opprobrious name of dog-eaters.

Passing through several tribes of Indians, they reached the Columbia, and saw in the west, at the distance of one hundred and fifty miles, a very high mountain, covered with snow, which, from its direction and appearance, was supposed to be Mount St. Helens, laid down by Vancouver, as visible from the mouth of that river. In four days they came to the great falls. As they descended the Columbia, its channel gradually widened, till it attained a breadth of two miles, and even expanded into a species of bay filled with islands. Then, having ascended a hill, and the fog, which had involved the western horizon, clearing up, they enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean;—that mighty ocean, the boundary of America and of American dominion, to reach which had been the object of all their labors, the ground of all their anxieties. This grand and cheering prospect, and the distant roar of the breakers, gave new life to all the travellers. Yet they had not reached the end of their troubles. They were tossed about for a fortnight in a sea which their frail canoes were ill able to sustain, and amid deluges of rain, before they could fix upon Meriwether

Bay as a spot where they could securely establish themselves for the winter. The expedition returned safely by the same route, the following year.

The most unwarrantable interference with the Indians residing within the limits of the United States, was practised by the British, from the year 1783, quite down to the commencement of the war of 1812. During a great part of this time they kept the Indians in hostility with our western settlements, and when the probability of a new war between the two countries became very strong, their intrigues were pushed to such an extent as to infuse a general spirit of hostility into all the savage tribes within their influence. For some years before the war, Little Turtle and Blue Jacket were the leading chiefs among the north-western tribes. They had disagreed about the manner of opposing Wayne's army. The plan of Blue Jacket was adopted, and led to the total defeat of the Indians, as had been predicted by his rival. After this event, Little Turtle continued on friendly terms with the Americans. He was of opinion that the Indian tribes were unable to contend against them; that no national aid would be afforded them by the British; and that, by going to war with the Americans, they would only lose more of their lands. Blue Jacket had more confidence in the British; he thirsted for revenge against the Americans, and he wished to regain the lands which had been ceded by the treaty of Greenville. His influence increased, while Little Turtle was becoming unpopular. He found in TECUMSEH, a Shawanese chief whom he associated with himself in his views and projects, an able and persevering coadjutor. The leading principles of their policy were, to unite all the tribes in one confederacy; to prevent the sale of their lands by any single tribe, and to join the British in the event of a war, for the purpose of recovering the territories which they had already ceded. They contended that, by the treaty of Greenville, the United States had acknowledged the right to their lands to remain jointly in all the tribes, and that, consequently, the Americans had no right to purchase lands from any single tribe, without the consent of the

others. Blue Jacket did not live to execute his schemes, but they were diligently pursued by Tecumseh, and this chief was encouraged and supported by the British agents.

The various tribes who were in the habit of visiting Detroit and Sandwich, were annually subsidized by the British. Where the American agent, at Detroit, gave one dollar, by way of amnesty, the British agent, on the other side of the river, would give them ten. This may serve as a specimen of the arts by which the British endeavored to gain over the savage tribes to their interests. The Indians wished also to try their strength against the "big knife," as they called the Kentuckians, in order to wipe away the disgrace of their defeat by General Wayne. The British promised them aid in case of a war, and their natural inclination to bloodshed was thus inflamed, and they stood ready for hostile movements the moment a favorable opportunity should occur. About the year 1804, a Shawanese Indian, the brother of Tecumseh, proclaimed himself a prophet, alleging that he had been commanded by the Great Spirit, who made the red man, to inform them that the misfortunes they had encountered were owing to their having abandoned the mode of life which he had prescribed for them, and adopted the manners and dress of the whites; and he was commanded to tell them that they must return to their former habits, and dress in skins instead of blankets. The prophet fixed his residence at Greenville, where the treaty was made in 1795.

The fame of this chief soon spread through the surrounding tribes, and he quickly found himself at the head of a considerable band of followers, composed principally of the most licentious and dissolute young men of the Shawanees, Delawares, Wyandots, Potawotamies, Ottawas, Chippeways and Kickapoos. Besides these, he was visited by immense crowds from the tribes of the Mississippi and Lake Superior. The most absurd stories were told and believed by the Indians, of his power to perform miracles, and they exposed themselves to all sorts of fatigue and suffering to get a sight of him. The people of Ohio became much alarmed at this great assemblage of the Indians upon

their frontier, and a mission was sent by the governor of that state, to insist upon their removal. The United States' agent at Fort Wayne, also made a remonstrance to the prophet against his design of forming a permanent settlement at Greenville, which was within the boundary of the United States. Accordingly, in 1808, the prophet removed to the Wabash, and fixed his residence on the northern bank of that river, near the mouth of a small stream called the Tippecanoe.

The land in this neighborhood was the property of the Miamis, who made strong objections to the occupancy of it by the prophet; but he had too strong a band of adherents to be expelled by force, and continued to remain in that spot. In September, 1809, a treaty was made between the American government and the Miamis, Delawares, and Potawatomies, by which the Indians ceded a tract extending sixty miles up the Wabash. The prophet and his followers were not parties to this treaty, as they had no claim to the land. During the negotiation of the treaty, Tecumseh was busy intriguing against the Americans; and, after its accomplishment, he threatened to kill the chiefs who had signed it, and declared his determination to prevent the land from being surveyed and settled. He brought great numbers of the Indians from the surrounding tribes to join his brother's party, and was, in fact, the prime mover in all the proceedings conducted in the name of the prophet.

General Harrison, who was then governor of the Northwest Territory, having heard of these doings, sent a message to Tecumseh, informing him that if he possessed any reasonable claim to lands ceded to the Americans, they should be given up, or indemnities offered for them. He invited him to Vincennes to exhibit his claim. Accordingly, in August, 1810, Tecumseh, attended by several hundred warriors, came to that town, and held a conference with the governor. Tecumseh made a long speech, but said nothing to the purpose. General Harrison replied, and as soon as he had finished Tecumseh gave a signal to his warriors, on which they seized their tomahawks and

war-clubs, and sprang suddenly on their feet. The governor, with the greatest presence of mind, immediately sprang from his chair, drew his sword, and put himself in an attitude of defence. His situation was eminently critical. None of his attendants were armed, and the Indians greatly outnumbered all the inhabitants of the town. His firm countenance, however, checked the audacity of the savages. He instantly ordered up a guard of a sergeant and twelve men, who were not far off; then, turning to Tecumseh, he told him he was a bad man, and he would have no further intercourse with him; he therefore ordered him instantly to return home. The next morning, however, Tecumseh made an apology, and desired another conference; but the negotiations which followed came to nothing.

The activity, zeal, and perseverance which this savage chief manifested in his endeavors to unite all the Indian tribes in a league against the Americans, are most remarkable. He visited all the tribes along the western bank of the Mississippi, and on the great lakes, repeatedly, before the year 1811. So sanguine were his followers, at this time, and to such a degree were they encouraged by the British agents, that they believed, in the event of a war between the British and Americans, they should be able to drive the Americans across the Ohio, and regain all the territory on the northwest of that river. The negotiations which preceded the treaty of Ghent, show that the British ministry indulged in a delusion equally extravagant.

In the winter and spring of 1811, depredations and murders began to alarm the frontiers of the Indiana, Illinois and Missouri territories. The perpetrators were demanded of the respective Indian chiefs, but no satisfaction could be obtained. Alarm spread throughout all the western country. The inhabitants held meetings, and forwarded to Washington the most urgent requests for defensive measures against the hostilities of the Indians. The president immediately ordered Colonel Boyd's regiment, then quartered at Pittsburg, to repair, without delay, to Vincennes, and receive orders from Governor Harrison,

who was also directed to raise a body of militia, for the defence of the country. Upon this announcement, companies of militia and volunteers flocked to his head quarters, and he soon found himself at the head of a respectable force.

In the latter part of September, Harrison commenced his march up the Wabash, with a force of about nine hundred effective men. Conformably to his orders from the president, he halted within the limits of the United States, and despatched some friendly Indians, as messengers, to the prophet, to induce him to deliver up the murderers, and the horses which had been stolen by his people. These negotiators were treated with great insolence, and the demands were rejected with disdain, by the prophet and his council. To put an end to all hope of accommodation, a small war-party of Indians approached the American camp for the purpose of commencing hostilities. Finding no stragglers without the lines, they fired upon a sentinel, and wounded him severely. Negotiation now appeared hopeless. The Delaware chiefs informed the governor that nothing but force would obtain either satisfaction for injuries done, or security for the future. The prophet's force was daily augmenting, and everything wore the most threatening aspect. In this state of affairs, Harrison judged it necessary to erect a fortification within the limits of the United States, where his invalids, of which he had a large number, might be deposited. In this fortification, which the officers named Fort Harrison, all the inefficient portion of the army having been deposited, the remainder took up the line of march for the enemy's country, on the 29th of October.

On the evening of the 5th of November, the army reached a spot about two miles from the prophet's town. None of the enemy were yet seen. The troops encamped, and kept a strict guard, as it was ascertained that the prophet was already informed of their approach. The following day they recommenced their march, and discovered parties of the enemy, with whom attempts were made to open a communication by the advanced guards,

attended by interpreters. The enemy, however, rejected every pacific overture, and Harrison continued to advance. The country became broken by ravines and covered with thick woods and tall prairie grass. With great difficulty, and using the utmost precaution, the troops made their way, with clouds of Indians hanging on their flanks and front, till they arrived close to the prophet's town, where they encamped. Harrison now obtained a parley with the Indians, who put on a pacific countenance, and professed a wish to avoid hostilities. A suspension of arms was, accordingly, agreed upon, and the following day appointed to hold a conference, and discuss terms of peace. Things now wore a pacific aspect, and the soldiers began to express their regrets at being obliged to return to their homes without witnessing a battle.

Harrison, however, was not thrown off his guard by these friendly demonstrations. Familiar with Indian character and Indian arts, he suspected treachery, and, like a prudent general, took all precaution against a surprise. The strictest arrangements were made to meet a sudden attack. The front and rear lines were composed of United States' troops, flanked by companies of militia. Three companies of mounted riflemen were posted on the left flank, and the remaining cavalry were stationed in the rear of the front line and left flank. A very strong night guard was put upon duty, orders issued for the sharpest vigilance to be observed throughout the camp, and the troops to lay on their arms. These precautions were by no means superfluous. The treacherous savages had made preparations to assault the camp under cover of the night, and, by killing the sentinels before an alarm could be given, to surprise the sleeping soldiers, whom they hoped to massacre before they had time to prepare for their defence. The sun went down quietly; the hum and bustle of the Indian town died away, and everything seemed hushed in repose. The night, at the beginning, was cloudy and dark; the moon rose late, and, after midnight, there was a drizzling rain; day-break was not far

off, and all the dangers of the night were apparently past: but this was the very moment of peril.

A little after four in the morning, a sentry was gazing upon the marshy prairie which skirted the front of the camp. Never had he seen the tall grass so strangely agitated. Not a breath of wind was blowing, yet the surface of the prairie was moving as if stirred by a strong breeze. He cried, "Who goes there?" but not a sound was heard in reply. His eye scrutinized every part of the waving field before him, but no living thing could be seen. Suddenly, with the quick thought of a backwoodsman, he stooped to the earth, and looking *under* the tall grass, behold! an Indian silently and cautiously creeping towards him! In an instant he fired; a tremendous Indian yell burst from the cover, and a cloud of savages rushed at once upon the left flank of the Americans. The guard in that quarter gave way, overpowered by the suddenness and fury of the attack. But the general and the other chief officers were already at their posts. Knowing the greatest danger of surprise to be towards morning, they had risen before the assault commenced. Dispositions to meet the enemy were promptly made; and the mounted riflemen received the next onset. The Indians, expert in the use of muskets, poured in a most destructive fire; but the troops, who sprang to their arms at a moment's warning, received the attack with the greatest firmness. The onset of the savages was such as to strike terror into every one, yet all orders were executed with coolness and promptitude. The camp fires were immediately extinguished, that the enemy might be embarrassed for want of light.

The attack was now extended to all quarters of the camp post, flank and rear. The dragoons on the left were severely annoyed by the enemy lodged in the woods. In the other quarters, the Indians advanced and retreated, making a loud rattling noise with deer-hoofs. They fought with desperation, and seemed resolved to conquer or die. The troops, however, firmly stood their ground. During the contest, the prophet remained in safety on an adjacent eminence, singing a war-song. He had told his followers

that the Great Spirit would render the arms of the whites unavailing, and that their bullets would not hurt the Indians, who would have light, while their enemies were involved in thick darkness. The fight raged with unabated fury, and he was informed that his men were falling. He told them to fight on, and they would soon see his predictions accomplished; and then he began to sing louder. But his incantations failed of effect; the American bullets continued to strike down the savage assailants; and their tumultuous onsets could not shake the firmness of the troops. Major Davies's cavalry made an attack upon the Indians in the woods, but the major being mortally wounded, the attack was repulsed. A company of infantry then advanced to the charge, with fixed bayonets, and drove the enemy from the wood. Daylight now approached, and a body of infantry and cavalry, under Major Wells, advanced upon the enemy's right. The Indian line was broken, repulsed and driven into a swamp. Attacks, at the same time, were made upon the remaining bodies of the enemy, who were all driven from their ground, and the victory of the Americans was complete. Forty Indians were found dead on the field of battle. Numbers of dead were carried off, and many were subsequently found buried, and thrown three and four together into holes and places of concealment. Their total loss in killed and wounded was estimated at one hundred and fifty. The American loss was equally severe. Among the killed were nine officers. General Harrison had a musket ball graze his head, cutting off a lock of hair.

The victory of Tippecanoe immediately dispersed all the hostile Indians in the neighborhood. The prophet's town was found deserted by all but an old chief, whose leg was broken. He was treated with humanity and attention. His wounds were dressed, and he was instructed to tell his countrymen that if they would abandon the prophet, and return peaceably to their respective tribes, they would be forgiven. It was judged necessary to destroy the prophet's town, which had been the rendezvous for all the bad characters in that quarter, and all the enemies of the United

States. The houses were burnt, the utensils of the Indians, and corn and other provisions, destroyed. The army remained in camp two days, to dress the wounded, and then returned to Vincennes. The prophet, after his flight from Tippecanoe, was instantly abandoned by all his followers, who, after this defeat, lost all faith in his supernatural pretensions. Even his life was endangered by the sudden change in the feeling of those whom he had too successfully deluded. Most of the Indian tribes who had been influenced by his arts, seeing him driven from his sanctuary and strong-hold, and all his impostures exposed, offered their submission to the United States, and sued for peace. The prophet fled to Canada, where, for many years, he lived on a pension from the British government, and afterwards emigrated to the west of the Mississippi.



CHAPTER XV.

WAR OF 1812.—*Relations with Great Britain—Bad faith of the British cabinet—Impressment of American seamen—Affair of John Henry—Party dissensions—Declaration of war with Great Britain—Mob at Baltimore—Cruise of Commodore Rogers—Chase of the Constitution—Capture of the Guerriere—Capture of the Alert—Capture of the Macedonian—Capture of the Frolic—Capture of the Java—Exultation of the Americans—Military operations by land—Errors of the cabinet—Campaign of General Hull—Invasion of Canada—Capture of Mackinaw by the British—Surrender of Hull's army—Harrison's march—Capture of Fort Defiance—War on the Niagara frontier—Dearborn's armistice—Attack on Queenstown—Misconduct of the New York militia—Affairs on the lakes—End of the campaign of 1812—Meeting of congress—Negotiations for peace—Reëlection of Mr. Madison.*

WE now return to the foreign affairs of the United States. Early in 1812, the relations of the country with Great Britain had reached a critical point. All the negotiations with the British cabinet led to no satisfactory results, but, on the contrary, produced nothing but chicanery and equivocation. It was evidently their wish to protract the settlement of affairs as long as possible. The American commerce offered a rich harvest of plunder for the British cruisers, and the American crews were a constant source for the supply of recruits for their navy by impressment. Thousands of sailors, with the legal evidence of their citizenship in their pockets, were taken forcibly from American ships, and compelled to serve in the British navy. The impressment began to prevail that a resort to arms was the only thing which could redeem the character of the nation and compel foreign powers to respect her flag. In November, 1811, President Madison recommended to congress that the country should be put in a state of defence; yet the hope of accommodating difficulties by negotiation was still

so strong, that nothing of consequence was done except authorizing a loan of eleven millions of dollars in March, 1812.

The feeling of hostility to England was further aggravated by an affair which came to light about this time. While the embargo law was in operation, the governor of Canada had despatched a secret emissary, named John Henry, into the eastern states, to sound the disposition of the people, who were thought inclined to dissolve the Union and revolt against the federal government. This man does not appear to have disclosed his mission to any person in the United States, but he wrote despatches to the governor, containing the news which he had picked up on his journey. Not being rewarded by the British government for his services, he disclosed the whole affair to the American cabinet, who paid him fifty thousand dollars for his papers. These documents were published by the American government, and gave rise to much discussion, not only in the United States, but in Great Britain. Lord Liverpool, the British prime minister, defended the proceeding in the house of lords, but it was generally considered, both in America and Europe, as a transaction highly discreditable to the British government.

It was now evident that hostilities with Great Britain could not be avoided much longer. There were grounds of complaint, too, against France, but it was admitted on all hands that the insults of the British were by far the most aggravating. Violent party dissensions agitated the United States, as the prospect of a war grew more and more certain. At length, on the 1st of June, 1812, the subject was proposed to congress in a message from President Madison. After a warm debate, a declaration of war was passed in the house of representatives by a majority of thirty, and in the senate by a majority of six. It received the signature of the president on the 18th of June, 1812, and on that day war existed between the United States and Great Britain.

Party spirit, at this period, raged with uncommon violence. The opposition to the government was strong, and

the declaration of war was denounced as a desperate and fatal measure. The country was in a most imperfect state of defence, with hardly anything like an army or navy, and the most wealthy and populous portion of the Union was the most decidedly averse to the war. The commercial towns of the eastern states, which had the most to suffer from hostilities, were, of course, the most strenuous in opposing it. The extravagant gains of commerce, in spite of the enormous hazards attending it, offered still an irresistible attraction. Troubles also menaced the country in other quarters. A mob, at Baltimore, on the 20th of June, assaulted the office of a newspaper which was distinguished for the violence of its opposition to the war. On the 28th of July, another mob made an attack on the house of the editor, and the next day further outrages were perpetrated; one person was killed, and several wounded.

At the moment of the declaration of war, a squadron, under Commodore Rogers, lay at New York, consisting of the frigates President, Congress, United States, and the sloop of war Hornet. On the 21st of June, they put to sea, in pursuit of a British squadron, which had sailed as the convoy of the West India fleet the preceding month. While thus engaged, the British frigate Belvidera was discovered, to which they instantly gave chase. The chase was continued from early in the morning until past four in the afternoon, when the President, outsailing the other vessels, had come within gun-shot; she opened a fire with her bow guns, intending to cripple the Belvidera, which returned it with her stern-chasers. The firing was kept up for ten minutes, when one of the guns of the President burst, killed and wounded sixteen men, and fractured the leg of the commodore. By this accident, and the explosion of the passing-box, the decks were so much shattered, as to render the guns on one side useless. The ship was then put about, and a broadside fired, but without the desired effect, though considerable injury was done the Belvidera. This vessel, having thrown overboard everything she could spare, now gained ground. The chase

was continued until eleven o'clock at night, before it was deemed hopeless. The squadron then continued in pursuit of the convoy, which it did not give over until within sight of the British channel; then stood for the island of Madeira, and thence, passing the Azores, stood for Newfoundland, and thence, by Cape Sable, arrived at Boston the 30th of August, having made prize of several British vessels; but, owing to the haziness of the weather, they were less successful than might have been expected. The frigate Essex went to sea from New York on the 3d of July. The brigs Nautilus and Vixen were at the same time cruising off the coast. The sloop of war Wasp was at sea, on her return from France.

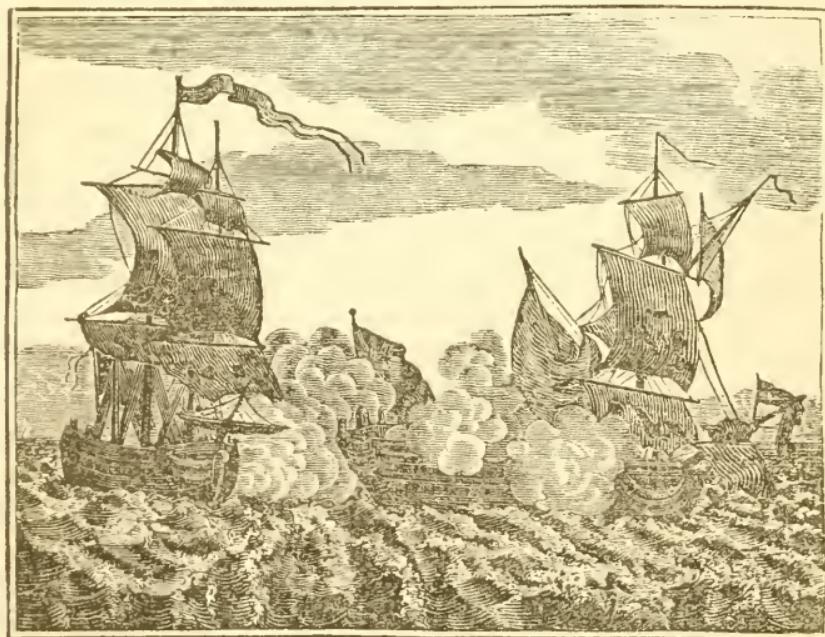
The Constitution, Captain Hull, sailed from Annapolis on the 5th of July. On the morning of the 17th, off Egg Harbor, she was chased by a ship of the line, the Africa, and the frigates Shannon, Guerriere, Belvidera, and *Æolus*. These vessels were approaching rapidly, with a fine breeze, while it was nearly a calm about the Constitution. At sunrise the next morning, escape from the enemy was almost hopeless, as they were then within five miles. The Constitution was, therefore, cleared for action, determined to make a desperate resistance. The enemy still drawing near, and the ships being upon soundings, boats were sent ahead, with anchors, for the purpose of warping,—there prevailing almost a calm. The enemy, finding the Constitution gaining upon them, resorted to the same expedient. The chase continued, in this manner, for two days, partly sailing with light breezes, and partly warping, until the 20th, when the Constitution ran her pursuers entirely out of sight. This escape, from so great a disparity of force, was considered as deserving a high rank in naval exploits, and was much admired at the time, as evincing superior nautical skill. The advantage to the British, in this chase, was considerable, when we reflect that their foremost vessel had the assistance of all the boats of the squadron for the purpose of towing.

The Constitution, having arrived safely at Boston, put to sea again on the 2d of August. On the 19th, a vessel

hove in sight, and a chase instantly commenced. It was soon discovered to be the Guerriere, Captain Dacres, one of the best frigates in the British navy, and which seemed not averse to the encounter, as she backed her maintopsail, waiting for the Constitution to come down. This was a most desirable occurrence to our brave tars, as this frigate had, for some time, been in search of an American frigate, having given a formal challenge to all our vessels of the same class. She had at one of her mastheads a flag, on which her name was inscribed in large characters, by way of gaseonade, and on her foretopsail the words, "Not the Little Belt," in allusion to the broadsides which the President had given that vessel before the war. The Guerriere had looked into several of our ports, and affected to be exceedingly anxious to earn the first laurels from the new enemy. The Constitution, being made ready for action, now bore down, her crew giving three cheers. At first, it was the intention of Captain Hull to bring her to close action immediately; but, on coming within gun-shot, she gave a broadside and filled away, then wore, giving a broadside on the other tack, but without effect. Both ships now continued wearing and manœuvring for three quarters of an hour, the Guerriere attempting to take a raking position; but failing in this, she bore up, under her topsail and jib. The Constitution, perceiving this, made sail to come up with her. Captain Hull, with admirable coolness, received the enemy's fire without returning it.

The enemy, mistaking this conduct on the part of the American commander for want of skill, continued to pour out his broadsides, with a view to cripple his antagonist. From the Constitution not a gun had been fired. Already had an officer twice come on deck, with information that several of the men had been killed at their guns. The gallant crew, though burning with impatience, silently awaited the orders of their commander. The moment so long looked for, at last arrived. Sailing-master Aylwin having seconded the views of the captain with admirable skill, in bringing the vessels exactly to the station intended, orders were given, at five minutes before five, P. M., to fire

broadside after broadside in quick succession. The crew instantly discovered the whole plan, and entered into it with all the spirit the circumstance was calculated to inspire. Never was any firing so dreadful. For fifteen minutes the vivid lightning of the Constitution's guns continued one blaze, and their thunder roared with scarce an intermission. The enemy's mizzenmast soon went by the board, and he stood exposed to a raking fire, which swept his decks. The Guerriere had now become unmanageable; her hull, rigging, and sails dreadfully torn; when the Constitution attempted to lay her on board. At this moment, Lieutenant Bush, in attempting to throw his marines on board, was killed by a musket ball, and the enemy shot ahead, but could not be brought before the wind. A raking fire now continued for fifteen minutes longer, when his mainmast and foremast went, taking with them every spar,



Capture of the Guerriere.

excepting the bowsprit. On seeing this, the firing ceased, and, at twenty-five minutes past five, she surrendered. "In thirty minutes," says Captain Hull, "after we got

fairly alongside of the enemy, she surrendered, and had not a spar standing, and her hull, above and below water, so shattered, that a few more broadsides must have carried her down."

The Guerriere was so much damaged, as to render it impossible to bring her in; she was, therefore, set fire to the next day, and blown up. The damage sustained by the Constitution was, comparatively, of so little consequence, that she actually made ready for action when a vessel appeared in sight the next day. The loss on board the Guerriere was fifteen killed and sixty-three wounded; on the side of the Constitution, seven killed and seven wounded. It is pleasing to observe, that even the British commander, on this occasion, bore testimony to the humanity and generosity with which he was treated by the victors. The American frigate was somewhat superior in force, but this difference bore no comparison to the disparity of the conflict. The Guerriere was thought to be a match for any vessel of her class, and had been ranked among the largest in the British navy. The Constitution arrived at Boston, on the 28th of August, having captured several merchant vessels.

On the 7th of August, Commodore Porter, of the Essex, fell in with a fleet of merchantmen, and at night cut out a brig with a hundred and fifty soldiers on board, which was ransomed for fourteen thousand dollars. On the 13th of August, he fell in with the Alert, a British sloop of war. Notwithstanding the inferiority of force, such was the confidence of the British naval commanders in their own prowess at this period, that the Alert ran immediately alongside the Essex, and engaged her with three cheers. In eight minutes the Alert struck her colors, with seven feet water in her hold. She was taken possession of, and brought safe into port. On the 30th, towards dark, the Essex discovered an enemy's frigate, and lay by during the night, with lights hoisted; but in the morning the enemy was not to be seen. The Essex arrived in the Delaware on the 7th of September.

A brilliant victory also awaited the frigate United States,

under the command of Captain Decatur. On the 25th of October, near the Azores, she encountered the British frigate Macedonian, Captain Carden, a new vessel, of excellent equipment. The Macedonian, having the weather-gage, kept at long shot, and this prevented the United States from using the greater part of her guns, which were carronades. But as soon as the United States was able to close with her enemy, the action began in earnest, and the Macedonian soon had her mizzenmast shot away and her other spars and rigging damaged. She struck, after an action of an hour and a half from the first shot. The superiority of the American gunnery, in this action, was very remarkable, both for its greater rapidity and effect. From the continued blaze of her guns, the United States was, at one moment, thought by her antagonist to be on fire; a mistake of very short duration. On board the Macedonian there were thirty-six killed and sixty-eight wounded. She lost her mainmast, her main-topmast, and main yard, and was much cut up in her hull. The United States suffered so little, that a return to port was not necessary; she had only five killed and seven wounded. Among the killed was Lieutenant Funk, of whom the commodore spoke in the highest terms. Lieutenant Allen was on this occasion highly applauded. The commodore arrived at New York on the 4th of December, with his prize.

Commodore Decatur, already a great favorite, experienced the same demonstrations of gratitude as were shown to Captain Hull; nor was there denied him that new species of praise, which the generous conduct of our heroic seamen has uniformly drawn forth, the praise of the enemy. All the private property belonging to the men and officers on board the Macedonian, was restored to the captured, with the most rigid exactitude; and their treatment was the most polite and humane. An act of generosity and benevolence, on the part of our brave tars of the victorious frigate, deserves to be honorably recorded. The carpenter, who was unfortunately killed in the conflict with the Macedonian, had left three small children to the care

still flying, there being no seamen left to pull them down. Lieutenant Biddle leaped into the rigging, and hauled them down with his own hands. Thus, in forty-three minutes, complete possession was taken of the Frolic, after one of the most bloody conflicts anywhere recorded in naval history. The condition of this unfortunate vessel was inexpressibly shocking. The berth deck was crowded with the dead, the dying, and the wounded; and the masts, which soon after fell, covered the dead, and everything on deck, leaving her a most melancholy wreck. Captain Jones sent on board his surgeon, and humanely exerted himself in their relief, to the utmost of his power. The loss on board the Frolic was thirty killed, and fifty wounded; on board the Wasp, five killed, and five slightly wounded. This was one of the most decisive actions fought during the war. The Wasp and Frolic were both captured the same day by a British seventy-four, the Poictiers, Captain Beresford.

The Constitution, under the command of Captain Bainbridge, sailed from Boston again, in October, in company with the Hornet sloop of war, on a voyage round Cape Horn. They continued in company till they arrived on the coast of Brazil. The British sloop of war Bonne Citoyenne was then lying in the harbor of St. Salvador, with a large quantity of specie on board, and the Hornet, in hope of capturing her, remained cruising off the place. The Constitution parted company and steered to the south. On the 29th of December, she discovered an enemy's frigate, which proved to be the Java, Captain Lambert, heavily armed and manned, having one hundred seamen over her complement, together with a British general and a large number of naval and military officers, which she was carrying to the East Indies. An action ensued, which lasted two hours, first at long-shot and afterwards at close quarters, when the Java surrendered, with the loss of sixty killed and above a hundred wounded. The Constitution had nine killed and twenty-five wounded. The Java was so much damaged in the action, that she was set on fire by the captors, and the prisoners were landed at St. Salvador, on parole.

In consequence of the damage sustained in the action, as well as the loss of the company of the Hornet, the Constitution returned to Boston.

The surprise and astonishment, both in Europe and America, at this brilliant succession of naval victories, were unbounded. The arrival of the Constitution at Boston, after her first victory, produced a burst of exultation among the people, which would seem utterly extravagant when considered as caused merely by the capture of an enemy's frigate. But at this period the invincibility of the British upon the ocean was a belief of so long standing, so firmly fixed in the minds of most men, and had been so fully confirmed by the uniform good fortune of their navy, that the achievement of Captain Hull acted at once like the dissolution of a spell. The charm of British invincibility was now broken, and the highest opinions were conceived of the skill and courage of American seamen. Captain Hull was received with the highest honors at Boston. The wharves were crowded with immense throngs of people as he landed. All parties united in welcoming him with the most enthusiastic cheers; and the triumph of the American navy was the more glorious as it was altogether unexpected. Congress voted their thanks to the officers and crew of the Constitution, together with fifty thousand dollars for the loss of their prize. Many of the state legislatures also bestowed public honors upon them. The conquerors in the subsequent naval victories received similar testimonials.

The American privateers also met with great success in the beginning of the war. Before the end of 1812, between two and three hundred prizes were brought into the ports of the United States, and the prisoners captured were computed at more than three thousand. The only public vessels lost were the schooner Nautilus, and the small brig Vixen, which were captured by the enemy's frigates. The naval service was now exceedingly popular, and at the next session of congress an act was passed, authorizing the building of six ships of the line, and twelve frigates and sloops of war, together with as many vessels on the lakes

as should be necessary. From the exhausted state of the treasury, however, and the difficulty of raising loans, the building of the ships did not proceed with all the rapidity that was wished, and none of them, except the smaller ones, were completed in season to meet the enemy during the war.

The commencement of the war was not equally favorable to the Americans by land, from causes which are obvious. The land forces of the United States had none of that experience and perfect discipline, which had given such wonderful efficiency to the little American navy. The system pursued by the war department, moreover, was characterized by a deplorable want of shrewdness and foresight. Instead of appointing to the command of the troops officers in the prime of life, characterized by enterprise, activity, and prompt, decisive action, the department committed the fatal mistake of selecting superannuated officers, past the meridian of life, and in a declining state of both corporeal and mental power. The only recommendation of these men was, in some instances, their revolutionary services; but, although in early life they had exhibited courage and talent, when the war of 1812 broke out they no longer possessed the energy and decision to command armies. Under such leaders, the commencement of the war was signalized by a most mortifying calamity.

The campaign began on the northwest frontier, where the savage tribes, under the instigation of the British, had commenced hostilities. The army was placed under the command of General Hull, who has acquired the most unfortunate celebrity by the disastrous termination of his campaign. His force consisted of about two thousand five hundred men, half of which were Ohio militia. Early in July he moved from his camp at Dayton, and marched upon Detroit. Here he prepared to invade Canada, and on the 12th of July he crossed the river with most of his force, and called by proclamation upon the inhabitants to submit. The confident style of this document was by no means in the best taste, and was not at all justified by the result of the undertaking. By a rapid march he might have overrun a

great extent of the country, and kept possession of the whole as far as the Niagara frontier, where another American army, under General Dearborn, was stationed to co-operate with him. But Hull possessed neither courage, decision, nor skill. He lay idle for more than three weeks at Sandwich, near Malden, opposite Detroit. No British force was in the vicinity to impede his march, but this long delay enabled the enemy to raise a force of militia and Indians, which soon increased to a formidable amount.

Meantime a body of a thousand British and Indians suddenly appeared before the important fortress of Mackinaw, where the garrison consisted of only fifty-seven men, and were totally unprepared for hostilities. Such had been the negligence of the American government, that no preparations whatever had been made for hostilities on the frontier, up to the day when the declaration of war was issued, and the garrison of Mackinaw received the first intelligence of that event by a summons to surrender. No resistance could be made, and the loss of this important post removed every check upon the hostilities of the Indian tribes in the neighborhood, who all rose against the Americans, and "the whole northern hive," as Hull expressed it, "came swarming upon the flanks of the army."

The negligence and incapacity of the war department may go far to explain the disasters of this campaign, but they can in no way excuse the sluggishness, indecision and cowardice of General Hull, which alone produced the main catastrophe. He had it in his power to strike a bold stroke and intimidate the enemy, instead of which he lay inactive till the British had accumulated a sufficient force to render his designs impracticable.

Another gross oversight, by an American officer, accelerated the consummation of this train of disasters. Dearborn, who commanded on the Niagara frontier, received a proposal for a suspension of arms, from Sir George Prevost, governor-general of Canada. This proposal was grounded on the repeal of the orders in council, the intelligence of which had just been received, and, possibly, might lead to a treaty of peace. Dearborn suffered himself to be over-

reached in this matter, and agreed, early in August, to an armistice, on his own frontier, to continue till the pleasure of the president should be known. By this most unwise arrangement, Prevost was enabled to detach a large part of his force against Hull; while Dearborn, being at a much greater distance by the line of march, could do nothing for his relief. The president, on learning Dearborn's armistice, instantly annulled it; but it was too late. The British had triumphed.

Hull's incapacity, irresolution and sluggish movements, had disheartened the whole army. Disasters soon began to fall upon them. On the 4th of August, a detachment of two hundred men, sent to escort a supply of provisions for the army, was defeated at Brownstown, by a party of Indians. A council of war was held, and decided that an immediate attack ought to be made upon Malden. In consequence, Hull issued a general order for the attack on the 7th of August. But, on the next day, to the astonishment of every one, the army was ordered to break up their encampment and recross the river. The troops, although now fairly ashamed of their general, were obliged to obey orders, and passed over to Detroit. There was a talk among the officers of taking the command of the army away from General Hull, on account of his gross incapacity; a bold measure, but which would have been justified by the necessity of the case. Nothing of the kind, however, was done, and Hull, on the following day, detached a body of six hundred men, under Colonel Miller, across the river again. This party engaged a body of British and Indians, near Maguaga village, and drove them off the ground with considerable loss. The Indians were commanded by Tecumseh. Miller proceeded to Brownstown, but was immediately afterwards ordered back to Detroit, and Canada was a second time evacuated. The gross blundering and irresolution of the commander-in-chief, throughout the whole campaign, are without a parallel in American history.

The British had a force of fifteen hundred men at Malden, under General Brock. Had the Americans been

commanded by an officer of any capacity, offensive operations would not have been ventured upon by the enemy. But Hull's behavior tempted the British commander to a bold movement. On the 15th of August, he summoned Hull to surrender, and, being refused, opened his fire upon Detroit. After a cannonade of two days, the British crossed the river, and took post about three miles from Detroit. It is probable that Brock did not design an immediate attack, but hearing that a detachment of three hundred men had been recently sent away from Detroit, he determined to assault it. The American army was stationed in the fort and town, in the most favorable situation for receiving the enemy. A sharp conflict was expected; the Americans were confident of victory. But who can describe the chagrin and mortification which took possession of these troops? At the very moment the destruction of the enemy was certain, orders were given not to fire. The troops were ordered to stack their arms, and, to the astonishment of all, a white flag, in token of submission, was suspended from the walls. Words are wanting to express the feelings of the Americans on this occasion; they considered themselves basely betrayed, in thus surrendering to an inferior force, without firing a gun, when they were firmly convinced the enemy were in their power.

General Hull was exchanged for thirty British prisoners, brought before a court-martial, charged with treason, cowardice, and unofficer-like conduct, and was sentenced to death. The sentence was remitted by the president, but his name was ordered to be struck from the rolls of the army. The nation was overspread with gloom in consequence of this disaster, and the war would have become highly unpopular, had not an unexpected turn in the tide of success been suddenly effected by the brilliant victories soon after achieved by the American navy.

The catastrophe of the northwestern army had been foreseen by the more sagacious of the American officers, and the governor of Ohio was urged, at an early period, to send reinforcements. In Ohio and Kentucky three thousand of the militia were raised, and marched for Detroit,

but on their arrival at Cincinnati, on the 27th of August, they received the news of Hull's surrender. This caused delay. Drafts of militia were made also in Pennsylvania and Virginia, and the whole force was put under the command of General Harrison. The army marched from Cincinnati to Piqua, on the Great Miami, where Harrison received intelligence that Fort Wayne was besieged by the Indians. A body of five hundred men was despatched for its relief, and, in a few days, the whole army marched for the same place. The Indians, hearing of Harrison's approach, raised the siege and decamped. The army arrived at Fort Wayne on the 12th of September. A detachment, sent for the purpose, destroyed the Indian towns on the forks of the Wabash.

Harrison was superseded in the command of the army by General Winchester, who marched upon Fort Defiance, where a strong force of British and Indians was posted. They evacuated the fort, and Winchester took possession of it on the 20th of September. Four days after this, Harrison received his appointment of commander-in-chief of the northwestern army; and the plan of a campaign was projected for the purpose of covering the western frontier and again invading Canada. The season was now far advanced, and the American posts were spread along a very wide extent of frontier. To penetrate into Canada was impracticable; and, after calculating his means, Harrison was forced to abandon the scheme of attacking Detroit. Several actions were fought with the Indians, but no decisive advantage was gained, except the destruction of the Indian towns and the waste of their corn-fields, and the dispersion of such bodies of the savages as ventured to collect in any considerable force.

On the northern frontier, the Americans gained no advantages to compensate them for the disaster at Detroit. The chief American posts were at Plattsburg, Sackett's Harbor, Black Rock, and Buffalo. Some inconsiderable skirmishes and incursions took place along the banks of the St. Lawrence, which led to no results. On the Niagara frontier, a body of New York militia, amounting to three

thousand men, under General Van Rensselaer, had been assembled for the invasion of Canada. Their head quarters were at Lewistown, eight miles below the falls. On the 11th of October, they made an attack upon Queenstown, on the British side. A detachment of regulars was sent from Black Rock to assist in the attack. The British had received intelligence of the design some time previous, and sent reinforcements to Queenstown from Fort George. The Americans embarked to cross the river, when, at the same moment, a heavy fire was opened upon them, and, the current being very strong, the boats were thrown into disorder. A body of one hundred men, under Colonel Van Rensselaer, landed safely, stormed the fort and silenced the enemy's batteries. Reinforcements were soon received by both parties, and the battle became general. The British were repulsed, and General Brock, in attempting to rally his troops, fell, mortally wounded; but, assisted by a reinforcement of several hundred Indians, the British returned to the attack, and were once more repulsed. Van Rensselaer now recrossed the river, to hasten the passage of the troops; but, to his great mortification, the militia, at the critical moment, refused to proceed, alleging that the general had no authority to lead them beyond the territory of the United States.

The victory was thus snatched from the Americans, at the moment of full success, by this cowardly behavior of the militia. At length, overpowered by numbers, they recrossed the river, with six hundred of their number killed and wounded, and the loss of three hundred prisoners. Van Rensselaer resigned the command, and was succeeded by General Smythe, of the regular army, who made a feeble attempt against the enemy, by despatching a few small parties into Canada. Nothing, however, was effected; the militia returned to their homes full of chagrin and mortification at the failure of the campaign, from which they had anticipated some very brilliant results. The clamors against Smythe were loud and violent, and the public opinion set strongly against him.

Some ships of war had been built by the two hostile

parties on the lakes. The American Ontario squadron was commanded by Commodore Chauncey. It consisted of seven small schooners, and this small fleet kept the command of the lake through the season, although the British had double the force afloat. In November, Chauncey fell in with the Royal George, of twenty-six guns, and chased her into Kingston, where he was repulsed by the batteries. On Lake Erie, the Americans had but a single armed vessel at the beginning of the war, which was surrendered at Detroit. On the 9th of October, Lieutenant Elliot, of the navy, crossed over from Black Rock, and cut out two British vessels from under the guns of Fort Erie. One of them, an armed vessel, was burnt, and the other, with a valuable cargo of furs, was brought off in safety to Black Rock.

In November, 1812, congress assembled, and immediately took measures to open a negotiation for peace, by instructing the American minister at London to give formal assurance to the British government, that a law should be passed forbidding the employment of British subjects in American ships, in case the British would reciprocate the regulation; thus removing the ground of complaint between the two countries on the subject of impressment. The British government refused to listen to this proposal, and avowed a determination not to abandon the right of impressment, on which, it was asserted, the naval power of the empire depended. Notwithstanding this, a law was passed by congress, forbidding the employment of British seamen in American vessels, after the close of the existing war.

Some further attempts were made at an armistice by negotiation with Admiral Warren, who commanded the British squadron on the American station, but without effect. Mr. Madison was this year reëlected president, and Elbridge Gerry was elected vice-president.

CHAPTER XVI.

WAR OF 1812.—*Harrison's winter campaign—Massacre at the River Raisin—Affairs on Lake Ontario—Capture of York—Death of General Pike—Capture of Fort George—Disaster at Stony Creek and Beaver Dam—Attack on Sackett's Harbor—War on the Atlantic coast—Devastations of the British in the Chesapeake—Bombardment of Lewistown—Cockburn's marauding expedition—Capture of the Peacock—Loss of the frigate Chesapeake—Loss of the Argus—Capture of the Boxer—Loss of the Essex—War in the west—Defence of Sandusky by Major Croghan—Perry's victory on Lake Erie—Harrison's invasion of Canada—Battle of the Thames and death of Tecumseh.*

THE capture of Hull's army laid open the whole north-western frontier to the incursions of the British and Indians, and it became of the utmost importance to recover possession of the territory of Michigan. It was determined, therefore, to undertake a campaign in the depth of winter. A body of fifteen hundred regulars and militia rendezvoused at Upper Sandusky, early in January, 1813, under General Harrison. From this post he detached two bodies of men, one under General Winchester, to the rapids of the Miami, and the other, under Colonel Lewis, to Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, which was then threatened by the Indians. These detachments, after defeating the enemy in some skirmishes, united at Frenchtown. Winchester, who took the command, unfortunately neglected all precautions, though he had every reason to believe a strong body of the enemy were on their march against him. About day-light, on the 22d of January, he was suddenly attacked by a numerous force of British and Indians, under Colonel Procter. The American commanders, Winchester and Lewis, were made prisoners, and a portion of the Americans put to the rout. The remainder, being advan-

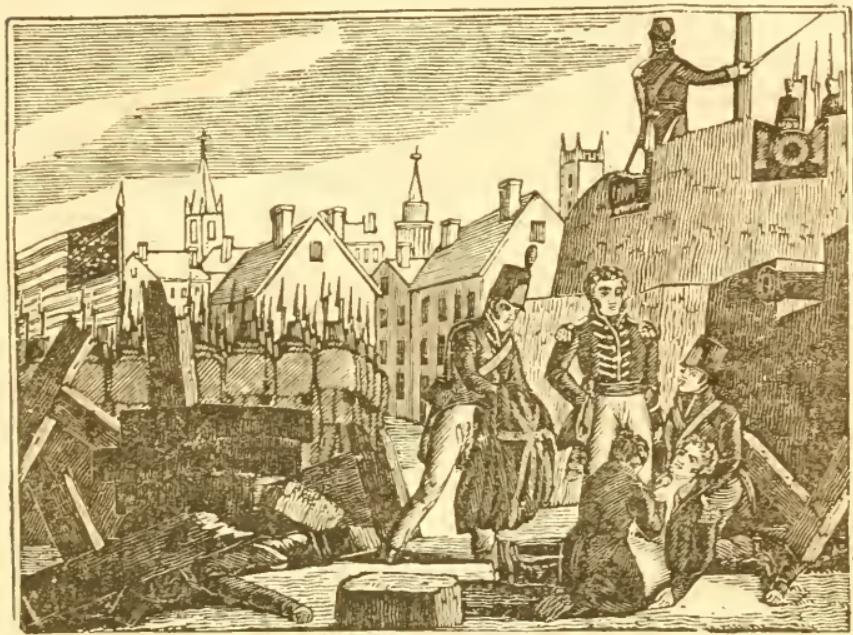
tageously posted, stood upon their defence, and, although hard-pressed by an overwhelming force, kept the enemy at bay. The British represented to Winchester that nothing but an immediate surrender could save the troops who held out from being massacred by the Indians. The general, influenced by these representations, sent a flag of truce, ordering the remainder of the troops to surrender. The ammunition of the Americans being nearly expended, they surrendered, on condition of being protected by a guard, and having their sick and wounded safely transported to Amherstburg on the following day. The British commander agreed to these terms, but the unfortunate prisoners experienced the most horrible perfidy and cruelty from their inhuman captors. The savages tomahawked both officers and soldiers in cold blood, burnt them alive, and strewed their mangled carcasses over the country. We shall spare the reader the details of this dreadful massacre, which inflicts the deepest infamy on the character of Procter and his officers, who made no attempt to prevent or stop the inhuman deed.

The massacre at Frenchtown clothed Kentucky and Ohio in mourning. Bands of volunteers, indignant at the treachery and cruelty of their foes, hastened to the aid of Harrison. He marched to the rapids of the Miami, where he erected a fort, which he called Fort Meigs, in honor of the governor of Ohio. On the 1st of May, it was invested by a large number of Indians, and by a party of British troops from Malden, the whole commanded by Procter. On the 6th, General Clay, at the head of twelve hundred Kentuckians, made an attempt to raise the siege. Dividing his force into several parties, he made an impetuous onset, and drove the besiegers from their works. His troops, supposing the victory complete, and disregarding the orders of their commander, dispersed into the woods. The enemy, returning from their flight, obtained an easy victory. Of the Americans, two or three hundred escaped into the fort; about three hundred were killed or made prisoners; the remainder fled to the nearest settlements. The enemy sustained considerable loss. The fort contin-

ued to be defended with bravery and skill. The Indians, unaccustomed to sieges, became weary and discontented. On the 8th of May, notwithstanding the entreaties of their chief, Tecumseh, they deserted their allies. On the 9th, the enemy, despairing of success, made a precipitate retreat. Harrisón, leaving Clay in command, returned to Ohio for reinforcements; but in this quarter active operations were not resumed until a squadron had been built and prepared for action on Lake Erie.

At Sackett's Harbor, on Lake Ontario, a body of troops had been assembled, under General Dearborn, and great exertions were made, by Commodore Chauncey, to build and equip a squadron on the lake, sufficiently powerful to contend with that of the enemy. By the 25th of April, the naval preparations were so far completed, that Dearborn, with seventeen hundred troops, embarked on board the fleet, and were conveyed across the lake to the attack of York, the capital of Upper Canada, where they arrived on the 27th. An advanced party, led by Brigadier-General Pike, who was born in a camp, and bred a soldier from his birth, immediately landed, although opposed at the water's edge by a superior force. After a short but severe conflict, the enemy were driven to their fortifications. The rest of the troops having gained the shore, the whole party pressed forward, carried the first battery by assault, and were moving towards the main works, when the enemy's magazine blew up, with a tremendous explosion, hurling upon the advancing troops immense quantities of stone and timber. Great numbers were killed; the gallant Pike received a mortal wound. The troops halted for a moment, but, recovering from the shock, again pressed forward, and soon gained possession of the town. Of the British troops, one hundred were killed, nearly three hundred were wounded, and the same number made prisoners. Of the Americans, three hundred and twenty were killed and wounded, and nearly all of them by the explosion of the magazine. The flag which waved over the fort was carried to the dying general; at his desire it was placed under his head, when, with a smile of triumph on his lips, he ex-

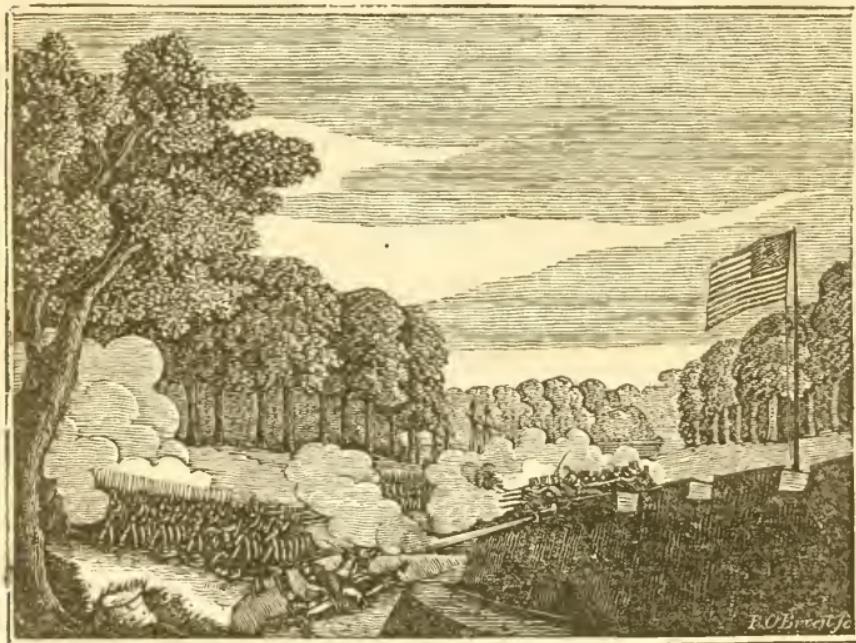
pired. The ships, public buildings, and military stores, were then destroyed, and the fleet left the place.



Victory of York.

The object of the expedition being attained, the squadron returned to Sackett's Harbor, where the wounded and prisoners being landed, and other troops taken on board, it sailed to Fort George, at the head of the lake. After a warm engagement, the enemy abandoned, and the Americans entered, the fort, on the 27th of May. The fugitives retired to the heights at the head of Burlington Bay. On their retreat, they were joined by a detachment from Fort Erie and Chippeway. Two brigades, under Generals Chandler and Winder, were despatched in pursuit. On the evening of the 5th of June, they encamped at Stony Creek, in the vicinity of the enemy, who, considering their situation desperate, turned upon their pursuers, and attacked them in the night. The Americans received them with coolness; but such was the darkness, that General Chandler, intending to place himself at the head of his artillery, fell into the midst of a British party. A few

minutes afterwards, the same mistake was committed by General Winder. Satisfied with the capture of these officers, and a few other prisoners, the enemy made a precipitate retreat. The American troops returned to Fort George. The misfortune was soon followed by another. Lieutenant-Colonel Boerstler, having been sent, with five hundred men, to disperse a body of the enemy collected at the Beaver Dams, was surrounded, and the whole detachment made prisoners.



Attack of Sackett's Harbor.

While the greater part of the American army was thus employed in Canada, the British made an attack upon the important post of Sackett's Harbor. On the 27th of May, their squadron appeared before the town. Alarm guns instantly assembled the citizens of the neighborhood. Dearborn had resigned, and General Brown, of the New York militia, commanded in chief, his whole force amounting to about one thousand men. By his orders, a slight breastwork was hastily thrown up, at the only place where the enemy could land. Behind this, he placed the

militia, the regulars, under Colonel Backus, forming a second line. On the morning of the 29th, one thousand British troops landed from the squadron. They advanced towards the breastwork. The militia, seized with a sudden panic, fled in confusion. Colonel Mills, in a vain attempt to rally them, was mortally wounded. The regulars, after a spirited resistance, were compelled to retire towards the town, but in their retreat they took possession of the houses on the road. From these coverts they poured so destructive a fire upon the British column, that it halted and fell back. General Brown, by a stratagem, converted this slight check into a precipitate flight. Collecting the panic-struck militia, he directed their course along a road, which, while it led from the village, appeared to the British commander to lead to the place of landing. Perceiving them marching with great speed, he supposed that their object was to cut off his retreat. Struck with panic, he immediately wheeled to the right-about, retreated and reembarked so hastily as to leave behind most of his wounded. General Brown, in recompense for his services, was appointed a brigadier in the regular army.

Meanwhile, upon the sea-coast, a distressing and predatory war was carried on, by a large detachment from the powerful navy of Great Britain. One squadron, stationed in Delaware Bay, captured and burned every merchant vessel which came within its reach. On the 4th of February, a squadron, consisting of two ships of the line, three frigates, and other vessels, made its appearance in the Chesapeake, apparently standing for Hampton Roads. The alarm was immediately sounded at Norfolk, and the militia called in from the upper part of the state. No attempt, however, was made upon the town, the enemy contenting himself with destroying the smaller vessels employed in the navigation of the bay, and effectively blockading its waters. About the same time, another squadron, under the command of Commodore Beresford, appeared in the Delaware, consisting of the *Poictiers*, the *Belvidera*, and some other vessels, which, in the same manner, destroyed a number of small trading vessels, and

attempted several times to land, but were as often repulsed by the militia, hastily collected.

On the 10th of April, Beresford made a demand on the people of the village of Lewistown for a supply of provisions, which was refused by Colonel Davis, commanding at that place. The Belvidera frigate was ordered to move near the village and bombard it, until the demand should be complied with. This was obeyed, but without effect; after a cannonade of twenty hours, the enemy were unable to make any impression on the place. The fire had been returned from some batteries, hastily thrown up on the bank, with considerable effect. On the 10th of May, the same squadron sent out their barges in the neighborhood of Lewistown, to procure water. Major George Hunter was detached, by Colonel Davis, with one hundred and fifty men, to oppose their landing, which the major did with so much gallantry, that he compelled them to hasten to their shipping. The squadron soon after returned to Bermuda, where Sir J. Borlase Warren, who commanded on this station, was engaged in fitting out a more considerable armament for the attack of our sea-coast during the summer.

Soon after the departure of the squadron, the Spartan and some other frigates entered the Delaware. One of their vessels, the Martin, was discovered, on the 29th of July, slightly grounded on the outer edge of Crow's Shoals. A detachment of the gun-boat flotilla immediately moved, and, anchoring in a line about three quarters of a mile from the sloop, opened a destructive fire upon her. The Junon frigate soon after came off to her relief. A cannonade was kept up, during an hour, between the gunboats and these two vessels, in which the latter suffered great injury. Finding it impossible to drive off this small fleet, they manned their launches, tenders, and cutters, to cut off the gun-boats at the extremity of the line. One was unfortunately taken, after a desperate resistance against eight times her number.

Scenes of a different kind were, in the mean while, acting in the Chesapeake. The squadron, which returned in

February, still continued to carry on a predatory war along the shores and inlets. It was here that Admiral Cockburn, a man infamous in the history of the war, began his plunderings and outrages. At first they were directed against the detached farm-houses, and seats of private gentlemen, unprepared for and incapable of defence; these were robbed, and the owners treated in the rudest manner. The cattle which could not be carried away were doomed to wanton destruction. It was impossible to station a force at each farm-house, to repel these miserable and disgraceful incursions; yet, in several instances, Cockburn and his ruffians were bravely repelled by a collection of the neighbors, without authority, and under no leader. The spirited citizens of Maryland formed bodies of cavalry, which were stationed at intervals along the shore, to be drawn out at a moment's warning. Cockburn took possession of several islands in the bay, particularly Sharp's, Tilghman's, and Poplar islands, whence he could seize the opportunity of making a descent upon the neighboring shores, when the inhabitants happened to be off their guard. Encouraged by his success against the farmers, and his rapacity increasing by the booty which he had already obtained, Cockburn now resolved to undertake something of a more bold and adventurous character, in which his thirst for plunder might be gratified in a higher degree. He, therefore, directed his attention to the unprotected villages and hamlets along the bay, carefully avoiding the larger towns, the plundering of which might be attended with some danger.

The first of these expeditions was against the village of Frenchtown, containing six dwelling-houses, two large store-houses and several stables. It was important, however, as a place of deposit, on the line of packets and stages from Philadelphia to the city of Baltimore, and Cockburn rightly conjectured that here there might be private property to a considerable amount. He accordingly set out on this expedition, from his ship, the Marlborough, in barges, with five hundred marines; a sufficient number to have carried the town on their backs. Some show of

resistance was made by a small party of militia collected from Elkton, but which moved off as the admiral approached. The store-houses were destroyed, together with the goods they were unable to carry off, to an immense amount. Amongst other objects of wanton destruction, was an elegant drop-curtain, intended for the theatres of the cities before mentioned. The brand was applied to some of the private dwelling-houses, and to several vessels lying at the wharf. After achieving this glorious victory, the admiral, fearing the approach of the militia, hastily retired to his ship.

The next exploit of the admiral was of still greater importance. The town of Havre de Grace is situated on the Susquehannah, about two miles from the head of the bay, and is a neat village, containing twenty or thirty houses. On the 3d of May, before daylight, his approach was announced by a few cannon shot and the firing of rockets. The inhabitants, roused from their sleep, leaped up in the greatest consternation, and the more courageous repaired to the beach, where a few small pieces of artillery had been planted on a kind of battery for the purpose of defence against the smaller watering or plundering parties of the enemy.

After firing a few shots, the inhabitants, with the exception of an old man named O'Neill, all fled on the approach of the barges, abandoning the village to the mercy of Cockburn. O'Neill alone continued to fight, loading a piece of artillery, and firing it himself, until, by recoiling, it ran over his thigh, and wounded him severely. He then armed himself with a musket, and, limping away, still kept up a retreating fight with the advancing column of the British, who had by this time landed and formed; after which he moved off to join his five or six comrades, whom he attempted in vain to rally.

Cockburn having been reinforced by a fresh squadron, under Admiral Warren, containing a number of land troops, resolved to make an attempt upon Norfolk, and, on the 20th of June, the British fleet of thirteen large ships entered the mouth of James river. Craney Island, at the mouth of

him and to each other, set sail, on the 1st of June, in pursuit of the Shannon. Towards evening of the same day, they met off Boston light, and instantly engaged, with unexampled fury. In a very few minutes, and in quick succession, the sailing-master of the Chesapeake was killed; Captain Lawrence and three lieutenants were severely wounded; her rigging was so cut to pieces that she fell on board the Shannon; her chest of arms blew up; Captain Lawrence received a second and mortal wound, and was carried below. At this instant, the position of the ships being favorable, Captain Broke, at the head of his marines, boarded the Chesapeake, when, every officer who could take command being killed or wounded, resistance ceased, and the American flag was struck by the enemy. This unexpected defeat impelled the Americans to seek for circumstances consoling to their pride; and, in the journals of the day, many such were stated to have preceded and attended the action. But nothing could allay their grief at the fall of the youthful and intrepid Lawrence. His previous victory and magnanimous conduct had rendered him the favorite of the nation, and he was lamented with sorrow, deep, sincere, and lasting. When carried below, he was asked if the colors should be struck. "No," he replied, "they shall wave while I live." When the fate of the ship was decided, his proud spirit was broken. He became delirious from excess of mental and bodily suffering. Whenever able to speak, he would exclaim, "Don't give up the ship!"—an expression consecrated by his countrymen; and he uttered but few other words during the four days that he survived his defeat.

This victory was not achieved without loss. Of the crew of the Shannon, twenty-four were killed, and fifty-six wounded. Of that of the Chesapeake, forty-eight were killed, and nearly one hundred wounded. Great was the exultation of the enemy. Victories over the frigates of other nations were occurrences too common to excite emotion; but the capture of an American frigate was considered a glorious epoch in the naval history of Great Britain. The honors and rewards bestowed upon Captain Broke, were

such as had never before been received but by the conqueror of a squadron. These demonstrations of triumph were inadvertent confessions of American superiority, and were to the vanquished themselves sources of triumph and consolation.

The next naval engagement was fought in the English channel, on the 14th of August, between the American brig Argus and the British brig Pelican. The British vessel was of superior force, and was victorious. Lieutenant Allen, who commanded the Argus, was killed. After this disaster, success again inclined to the side of the Americans. On the 4th of September, the American brig Enterprise, commanded by Lieutenant Burrows, captured the British brig Boxer, commanded by Captain Blythe. These vessels were of equal force, but the great effect of the fire of the Enterprise furnished to the Americans another proof of the superior skill of their seamen. Both commanders were killed in the action, and were buried, each by the other's side, in Portland.

Porter, in the Essex, had been cruising in the Pacific for nearly a year, in the course of which he had captured several British armed whale ships. Some of these were equipped as American cruisers and store-ships; and the Atlantic, now called the Essex Junior, of twenty guns and sixty men, was assigned to Lieutenant Downes. The prizes which were to be laid up, were convoyed by this officer to Valparaiso. On his return he brought intelligence to Captain Porter that a British squadron, consisting of one frigate and two sloops of war, and a store-ship of twenty guns, had sailed in quest of the Essex. The commodore took measures immediately to repair his vessel, which having accomplished, on the 12th of December, 1813, he sailed for Valparaiso, in company with the Essex Junior. Not long after the arrival of Porter at Valparaiso, Captain Hillyar appeared there in the Phœbe frigate, accompanied by the Cherub sloop of war. These vessels had been equipped for the purpose of meeting the Essex, with picked crews, in prime order, and hoisted flags bearing the motto, "God and our country, British sailors' best rights; *traitors offend*

them." This was in allusion to Porter's celebrated motto, "Free trade and sailor's rights." He now hoisted at his mizzen, "God, our country, and liberty: tyrants offend them." On entering the harbor, the British commodore fell foul of the Essex, in such a situation as to be placed completely in the power of the latter. The forbearance of Captain Porter was acknowledged by the English commander, and he passed his word and honor to observe the same regard to the neutrality of the port.

The British vessels soon after sailed and cruised off the port about six weeks, rigorously blockading the Essex. Their united forces amounted to eighty-one guns, and about five hundred men,—about double that of the Essex; but the circumstance of this force being divided in two ships, rendered the disparity still greater, and was by no means counterbalanced by the Essex Junior. Captain Porter, being prevented, by this great disparity of force, from engaging, made repeated attempts to draw the Phœbe into action singly, either by manœuvring or sending formal challenges; but Captain Hillyar carefully avoided the coming to action alone. The American commander, hearing that an additional British force was on its way, and having discovered that his vessel could outsail those of the British, determined to venture out, and, while the enemy was in chase, enable the Essex Junior to escape to a place of rendezvous previously appointed. On the 28th of March, 1814, the wind coming on to blow fresh from the southward, the Essex parted her starboard cable, and dragged her larboard anchor to sea. Not a moment was lost in getting sail on the ship, as it was determined to seize this moment to escape. In endeavoring to pass to the windward of the enemy, a squall struck the Essex, just as she was doubling the point, which carried away her main-topmast. The British immediately gave chase, and Captain Porter, being unable to escape in his crippled state, endeavored to put back into the harbor; but, finding this impracticable, he ran into a small bay, and anchored within pistol shot of the shore, where, from a supposition that the enemy would continue to respect the neutrality of the port, he

thought himself secure. The British ships, however, immediately attacked him. The unmanageable condition of the Essex enabled them to take the most advantageous positions for raking her, so that the entire broadsides of the enemy took effect, while the Essex could bring but three guns to bear upon them. Still she maintained the conflict for three hours, when, having one hundred and twenty-four of her crew killed and wounded, and being set on fire by the shot of the enemy, she struck her colors. Captain Porter was paroled, and permitted to return to the United States in the Essex Junior, which was converted into a cartel for the purpose. On arriving off the port of New York, the vessel was detained by the Saturn razee, and, to the disgrace of the British navy, he was compelled to give up his parole, and declare himself a prisoner of war, and, as such, he informed the British officer that he would attempt his escape. In consequence of this threat, the Essex Junior was ordered to remain under the lee of the Saturn; but the next morning Captain Porter put off in his boat, though thirty miles from shore, and, notwithstanding the pursuit by those of the Saturn, arrived safely in New York.

Meantime, important preparations were making on the western frontier, although the spring and summer of 1813 had passed away without any incident in this quarter worthy of being recorded. The general attention was now turned towards it with much anxiety, and the armies of the Niagara and St. Lawrence rested on their arms, awaiting the issue of Harrison's campaign, and the result of the contest for the supremacy on lake Erie. The British, aware of the consequence of a defeat, had, with great assiduity, labored to strengthen themselves. The reinforcements continually arriving at Fort George, were evidently destined to follow up the advantages which Procter might gain, in conjunction with the commander on the lake. In the mean while, in the neighboring states of Kentucky and Ohio, the people were excited in a most surprising degree; had it been necessary, they would have risen *en masse*; almost every man capable of bearing a musket was anxious to march. The governor of Ohio had scarcely issued

his proclamation, calling on volunteers, (for the obligations of law to render military service were no longer thought of,) than fifteen thousand men presented themselves, completely armed and equipped,—more than five times the number required.

Shelby, the venerable governor of Kentucky, a revolutionary hero, and the Nestor of the war, made it known that he would put himself at the head of the citizens of that state, and lead them to seek revenge for the murder of their relatives and friends, but limited the number of volunteers to four thousand. The state of Kentucky, called, by the natives, "the dark and bloody ground," forty years ago was an uninhabited forest, possessed by no tribe of Indians, but, from time immemorial, the theatre of sanguinary wars. At this day, it blooms beneath the hand of agriculture; it is filled with beautiful towns and villages, and is the abode of peace, opulence, and refinement. The inhabitants are descended from the planters of Virginia and North Carolina, and emigrants composed of the enterprising and intelligent of the other states. Living in abundance, and at their ease, and more remote from the seats of commerce, they have imbibed less of foreign attachments or feelings than any of our people, and are, perhaps, more enthusiastically devoted to the institutions of freedom. They have not a little of the manners of chivalry in their generous and hospitable deportment; fearless of danger, regarding dishonor more than death, but, with these qualities, a benevolence and humanity which has scarcely a parallel. Had the elder brethren of this confederacy acted like this younger member, the Canadas would have been ours, and Britain would never have dared to insult us with her unwarrantable pretensions.

The transactions which are now to be related, may justly rank amongst the most pleasing to our feelings and national pride, of any which took place during the contest. The campaign opened with an affair, which, though comparatively of smaller consequence than some others, is, in its circumstances, one of the most brilliant that occurred during the war. This was the unparalleled defence of Fort

Sandusky, by a small body of troops commanded by a youth of twenty-one years of age. In August, 1813, before the arrival of the Ohio and Kentucky volunteers, which did not take place until the following month, hostile movements had been made upon all the different forts established by the Americans on the rivers which fall into lake Erie. After the siege of Fort Meigs, the British had been considerably reinforced by regulars, and an unusual number of Indians, under their great leader, Tecumseh. It was all-important to reduce these forts before the arrival of the volunteers. Major Croghan, then commanding at Upper Sandusky, having received intimation that the enemy were about to invest the fort of Lower Sandusky, had marched to this place with some additional force, and had been occupied with great assiduity in placing it in the best posture of defence. But the only addition of importance which the time would allow him to make, was a ditch, of six feet deep, and nine feet wide, outside the stockade of pickets by which these hastily constructed forts are enclosed, but which can afford but a weak defence against artillery. He had but one six-pounder, and about one hundred and sixty men, consisting of regulars and detachments of the Pittsburgh and Petersburgh volunteers. General Harrison, not conceiving it practicable to defend the place, ordered Croghan to retire on the approach of the enemy, after having destroyed the works. This, our young hero, taking the responsibility upon himself, determined to disobey.

On the first of August, Procter, having left a large body of Indians, under Tecumseh, to keep up the appearance of a siege of Fort Meigs, arrived at Sandusky with about five hundred regulars, seven hundred Indians, and some gun-boats. After he had made such dispositions of his troops as to cut off the retreat of the garrison, he sent a flag, demanding a surrender, accompanied with the usual base and detestable threats of butchery and cold blood massacre, if the garrison should hold out. A spirited answer was returned by Croghan, who found that all his companions, chiefly striplings like himself, would support him to the

last. When the flag returned, a brisk fire was opened from the gun-boats and howitzer, and which was kept up during the night. In the morning, they opened with three sixes, which had been planted, under cover of the night, within two hundred and fifty yards of the pickets, but not with much effect. About four o'clock in the afternoon, it was discovered that the enemy had concentrated his fire against the northwest angle, with the intention of making a breach. This part was immediately strengthened by bags of flour and sand, so that the pickets suffered but little injury. During this time, the six-pounder was carefully concealed in the bastion, which covered the point to be assailed, and it was loaded with slugs and grape.

About five hundred of the enemy now advanced in close column to assail the part where it was supposed the pickets must have been injured; at the same time making several feints, to draw the attention of the besieged to other parts of the fort. Their force being thus divided, a column of three hundred and fifty men, which were so enveloped in smoke as not to be seen until they approached within twenty paces of the lines, advanced rapidly to the assault. A fire of musketry from the fort for a moment threw them into confusion, but they were quickly rallied by Colonel Short, their commander, who, now springing over the outer works into the ditch, commanded the rest to follow, crying out, "Give the d——d Yankees no quarter!" Scarcely had these words escaped his lips, and the greater part of his followers landed in the ditch, when the six-pounder opened upon them a most destructive fire, killing and wounding the greater part, and, amongst the first, the wretched leader, who was sent into eternity before his words had died upon the air. A volley of musketry was, at the same time, fired upon those who had not ventured. The officer who succeeded Short, exasperated at being thus treated by a few boys, formed his broken column, and again rushed to the ditch, where he, and those who dared to follow him, met with the same fate as their fellow-soldiers. The small arms were again played on them—the

whole British force was thrown into confusion, and, in spite of the exertions of their officers, fled to the woods panic-struck, whither they were soon followed by the Indians. The little band of defenders, forgetting in a moment that they had been assailed by merciless foes, who sought to massacre them, without regarding the laws of honorable war, now felt only the desire of relieving wounded men, and of administering comfort to the wretched. Had they been friends, had they been brothers, they could not have experienced a more tender solicitude. The whole night was occupied in endeavoring to assuage their sufferings; provisions and buckets of water were handed over the pickets, and an opening was made, by which many of the sufferers were taken in, who were immediately supplied with surgical aid; and this, although a firing was kept up with small arms by the enemy until some time in the night. The loss of the garrison amounted to one killed and seven wounded; that of the enemy was supposed to be at least two hundred. Upwards of fifty were found in and about the ditch. It was discovered, next morning, that the enemy had hastily retreated, leaving a boat and a considerable quantity of military stores. Upwards of seventy stand of arms were taken, besides a quantity of ammunition. This exploit called forth the admiration of every party in the United States. Croghan, together with his companions, were highly complimented by General Harrison. They afterwards received the thanks of congress. Croghan was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-colonel, and presented with an elegant sword by the ladies of Chilicothe. Soon after this affair, Tecumseh raised the siege of Fort Meigs, and followed Procter to Detroit. All hope was now given up by the enemy of reducing these forts, until they could gain the ascendency on the lake.

The utmost exertions had been made, in the mean while, by Captain Perry, to complete the naval armament on lake Erie. By the 4th of August, the fleet was manned; but several of the vessels were with difficulty got over the bar of Port Erie, on which there are but five feet

water.. He sailed in quest of the enemy, but, not meeting him, returned on the 8th, and, after receiving a reinforcement of sailors, brought by Captain Elliot, sailed again on the 12th, and on the 15th anchored in the bay of Sandusky. Here, after taking in about twenty volunteer marines, he again went in quest of the enemy ; and, after cruising off Malden, returned to Put-in Bay, a distance of thirty miles. His fleet consisted of the brig Lawrence, of twenty guns ; the Niagara, Captain Elliot, of twenty ; the Caledonia, Lieutenant Turner, three ; the schooner Ariel, of four ; the Scorpion, of two ; the Somers, of two, and two swivels ; the sloop Trippe, and schooners Tigress and Porcupine, of one gun each ; making a fleet of nine vessels, and fifty-four guns. On the morning of the 10th of September, the enemy was discovered bearing down upon the American squadron, which immediately got under weigh, and stood out to meet him. The superiority was decidedly on the side of the British. The Americans had three more vessels, but this was much more than counterbalanced by the size of those of the enemy, and the number of their guns. Their fleet consisted of the Detroit, Captain Barclay, of nineteen guns, and two howitzers ; the Queen Charlotte, of seventeen guns, Captain Finnis ; the schooner Lady Prevost, Lieutenant Buchan, of thirteen guns, and two howitzers ; the brig Hunter, of ten guns ; the sloop Little Belt, of three ; and the schooner Chippewa, of one gun and two swivels ; in all, six vessels and sixty-three guns.

The Americans stood out of the bay. The British fleet had the weather-gage ; but the wind soon after changed, and brought the American fleet to windward. The line of battle was formed at eleven, and fifteen minutes before twelve, the enemy's flag-ship, the Queen Charlotte, opened her fire upon the Lawrence, which she sustained for ten minutes, before she could approach near enough for her carronades to return. She, therefore, bore up, making signals for the other vessels to hasten to her support, and, about twelve, brought her guns to bear upon the enemy. The wind being too light, the remainder of the squadron could not be brought up to her assistance, and she was

compelled to fight two hours, with two ships of equal force. The contest was, notwithstanding, kept up with unshaken courage, and a degree of coolness which deserves admiration. By this time the Lawrence, which had so long borne the fire of the whole of the British force, had become entirely unmanageable; every gun was dismounted, and, with the exception of four or five, her whole crew either killed or wounded. Perry now, with admirable presence of mind, resolved to shift his flag, leaped into his boat, and, heroically waving his sword, passed unhurt to the Niagara.

At the moment he reached the Niagara, he saw with anguish the flag of his ship come down; she was utterly unable to make further resistance, and it would have been a wanton waste of the remaining lives to continue the contest. The enemy was not able to take possession of her.



Perry's victory on Lake Erie.

Captain Elliot, seconding the design of the commodore, volunteered to bring up the rest of the fleet; for, at this critical moment, the wind had increased. Perry now bore

down upon the enemy with a fresh ship, and, passing ahead of the Detroit, Queen Charlotte, and Lady Prevost, poured a destructive broadside into each from his starboard, and from his larboard into the Chippewa and Little Belt. In this manner, cutting through the line, he was within pistol shot of the Lady Prevost, which received so heavy a fire as to compel her men to run below. At this moment the Caledonia came up, and opened her fire. Several others of the squadron were enabled soon after to do the same. The issue of a campaign, the mastery of a sea, the glory and renown of two rival nations, matched for the first time in squadron, were the incentives to the contest. But it was not long before the scale turned in favor of Perry, and his ship, the Lawrence, was again enabled to hoist her flag. The Queen Charlotte, having lost her captain and all her principal officers, by some mischance ran foul of the Detroit, and the greater part of the guns of both ships were rendered useless. They were now compelled to sustain, in turn, an incessant fire from the Niagara, and the other vessels of the squadron. The flag of Captain Barclay was soon after struck, and those of the Queen Charlotte, the Lady Prevost, the Hunter, and the Chippewa, came down in succession; the Little Belt attempted to escape, but was pursued by two gun-boats and captured.

Thus, after a contest of three hours, was this important naval victory achieved, in which every vessel of the enemy was captured. If anything could heighten this glorious victory, it was the modest and yet sublime manner in which it was announced by the incomparable Perry: "WE HAVE MET THE ENEMY, AND THEY ARE OURS." Britain had been beaten in single combat,—she was now beaten in squadron, where she had conceived herself invincible. The loss in this bloody affair was very great in proportion to the numbers engaged. The Americans had twenty-seven killed, and ninety-six wounded; amongst the first were Lieutenant Brooks, of the marines, and Midshipman Laub; amongst the latter were Lieutenant Yarnell, Sailing-master Taylor, Purser Hamilton, and Midshipmen Claxton and Swartwout. The loss of the British was

about two hundred in killed and wounded; and the number of prisoners amounted to six hundred, exceeding the whole number of the Americans. Commodore Barclay, a gallant officer, who had lost an arm at the battle of Trafalgar, was severely wounded, and the loss of officers, on the side of the British, was unusually great. Among the officers particularly spoken of on this occasion, were Captain Elliot, Lieutenants Turner, Edwards, Forest, Clark, and Cummings, besides those already mentioned. The victory of Commodore Perry left the Americans in full command of lake Erie, but Detroit and Malden still remained in possession of the British. The triumph of the American arms seemed to unite conflicting parties; and the kindness extended to the British captives reflected the brightest glory on our country.

But the territory still occupied by the enemy was to be retaken. For the accomplishment of this purpose, Colonel Johnson, with a body of Kentuckians, were destined to act against Detroit, and Harrison was to march against Malden. Finding Malden untenable, the British general destroyed, and then evacuated it. On the 2d of October, Harrison, with about three thousand five hundred men, crossed the river into Canada, commenced a pursuit, and, on the 5th, the enemy was overtaken at the Moravian towns, on the Thames. Colonel Johnson, who had formed a junction with General Harrison, being sent forward to reconnoitre the British and Indian forces, gave intelligence that the enemy were prepared for action, at the distance of a few miles. On their left was the river, and their right, consisting of Indians, under Tecumseh, rested on a swamp. The American force consisted of Ohio militia and four thousand Kentuckians, the flower of their state, commanded by Governor Shelby, who arrived at the camp of General Harrison on the 7th of September. The enemy was drawn up under cover of a beech wood, by which a narrow strip of land was covered. The Americans were soon formed in battle array. General Trotter's brigade formed the front line, supported by Desha's divisions on the left. The brigade of General

King formed the second line, in rear of General Trotter's, and Chile's acted as a corps of reserve, both under the command of Major-General Henry. The brigades averaged five hundred men each. Governor Shelby occupied the angle formed by the brigades of Trotter and Desha. The regular troops, numbering only one hundred and twenty men, were formed into columns, and occupied the narrow space between the river and the road, for the purpose of seizing the artillery, should the enemy be repulsed. The order of General Harrison was, to form Colonel Johnson's mounted men in two lines, in front of the Indians, but the underwood being too close for cavalry to be effective, he determined on a new mode of attack.

Knowing the dexterity of the backwoodsmen in riding through forests, and the little inconvenience to them of carrying their rifles in such a situation, Harrison determined to refuse his left to the Indians, and charge on the regulars drawn up among the beech trees. The mounted regiment was accordingly drawn up in front. The army moved on but a short distance, when the mounted men received the enemy's fire, and were instantly ordered to charge. The horses in front of the column at first recoiled from the fire, but soon after got in motion, and immediately, at full speed, broke through the enemy with irresistible force. In one minute the contest was over in front. The mounted men instantly formed in the rear, and poured a destructive fire, and were about to make another charge, when the British officers, finding it impossible to form their broken ranks, immediately surrendered. Upon the left the onset was begun by Tecumseh with great fury. Colonel R. M. Johnson, who commanded on that flank of his regiment, received a galling fire, which he returned with effect, while the Indians advanced towards the point occupied by Governor Shelby, and at first made an impression on it; but the aged warrior brought a regiment to its support. The combat now raged with increasing fury; the Indians, to the number of twelve or fifteen hundred, seemed determined to maintain their ground to the last.

The terrible voice of Tecumseh could be distinctly heard

encouraging his warriors; and, although beset on every side, excepting on that of the morass, they fought with more determined courage than had ever been witnessed in these people. An incident soon occurred, however, which decided the contest. Colonel Johnson rushed towards the spot where the warriors, clustering around their undaunted chief, appeared resolved to perish by his side. In a moment a hundred rifles were aimed at the American, whose uniform, and white horse which he rode, rendered him a conspicuous object. His holsters, dress, and accoutrements, were pierced with bullets, his horse and himself receiving a number of wounds. At the instant his horse was about to sink under him, the daring Kentuckian, covered with blood from his wounds, was discovered by Tecumseh. The chief, having discharged his rifle, sprang forward with his tomahawk, but, struck with the appearance of the warrior who stood before him, hesitated for a moment, and that moment



Death of Tecumseh.

was his last. The Kentuckian levelled a pistol at his breast, and they both, almost at the same instant, fell to the

ground. The Kentuckians rushed forward to the rescue of their leader, and the Indians, no longer hearing the voice of Tecumseh, soon after fled. Near the spot where this scene occurred, thirty Indians were found dead, and six whites.

Thus fell Tecumseh, one of the most celebrated Indian warriors that ever raised the tomahawk against us, and with him fell the last hope of our Indian enemies. This mighty warrior was the determined foe of civilization, and had for years been laboring to unite all the Indian tribes in opposing the progress of the settlements to the westward. Had such a man opposed the European colonists on their first arrival, this continent, in all probability, would still have been a wilderness. To those who prefer a savage, uncultivated waste, inhabited by wolves and panthers, and by men more savage still, to the busy city, to the peaceful hamlet and cottage, to science and the comforts of civilization,—to such it may be a source of regret that Tecumseh came too late. But if the cultivation of the earth, and the cultivation of the human intellect and the human virtues, are agreeable in the sight of the Creator, it may be a just cause of felicitation that this champion of barbarism was the ally of Great Britain at a period when he could only draw down destruction on his own head, by savagely daring what was beyond his strength. But Tecumseh fell, respected by his enemies as a great and magnanimous chief. Although he seldom took prisoners in battle, he treated well those that had been taken by others; and, at the defeat of Dudley, actually put to death a chief whom he found engaged in the work of massacre. He had been in almost every engagement with the whites since Harmer's defeat, although, at his death, he scarcely exceeded forty years of age.

Tecumseh had received the stamp of greatness from the hand of nature, and had his lot been cast in a different state of society, he would have shone as one of the most distinguished of men. He was endowed with a powerful mind, with the soul of a hero. There was an uncommon dignity in his countenance and manners. By the former he

could be easily discoyered, even after death, among the rest of the slain, for he wore no insignia of distinction. When girded with a silk sash, and told by General Procter that he was made a brigadier in the British service, for his conduct at Brownstown and Magagua, he returned the present with respectful contempt. Born with no title to command but his native greatness, every tribe yielded submission to him at once, and no one ever disputed his precedence. Subtle and fierce in war, he possessed uncommon eloquence. His speeches might bear a comparison with those of the most celebrated orators of Greece and Rome. His invective was terrible, as we had frequent occasion to experience, and as may be seen in the reproaches which he applied to Procter, a few days before his death, in a speech which was found amongst the papers of the British officers. His form was uncommonly elegant, his stature about six feet, his limbs perfectly proportioned. He was honorably interred by the victors, by whom he was held in much respect, as an inveterate, but a magnanimous enemy.

The loss of the Americans, in this engagement, was more than fifty killed and wounded, among whom was Colonel Whitely, a revolutionary soldier, killed. The loss of the British was nineteen killed, and fifty wounded. Six hundred were taken prisoners. Of the Indians, one hundred and twenty were left on the field. Several pieces of cannon, taken in the revolution, and which had been surrendered by General Hull, were trophies of this victory. General Procter fled when the charge was made, and escaped down the Thames, by means of fleet horses, though closely pursued. His carriage, together with his private papers, were captured.

CHAPTER XVII.

WAR OF 1812.—*Operations on the northern frontier—Wilkinson appointed to the command—Expedition against Montreal—Affair of Chrystler's Field—March of Hampton—Failure of the campaign—Naval affairs on Lake Ontario—Burning of Newark—Capture of Fort Niagara—Burning of Buffalo—Indian war in the south—Massacre at Fort Mimms—Hostile movements of the Creeks—Jackson's campaign—Battle of Talladega—Defeat of the Indians—Battle at the Horse-Shoe Bend—Pacification of the south.*

THE victory of the Thames put an end to the hostilities of the savages, and the northwestern frontier rested in security. Most of the volunteers returned home. Harrison stationed General Cass at Detroit, with about one thousand men, and proceeded with the remainder to join the central army at Buffalo. The successes of the northwestern army, and the victory on lake Erie, prepared the way for the invasion of Canada. A formidable force was collected on the frontier, under experienced officers, and the Indians declared against the British. General Armstrong was at the head of the war department, and much was expected from his experience and zeal. Improvements were introduced, especially in the selection of officers. The secretary proceeded to the northern frontier, to put his plans into operation. The plan was, perhaps, judicious, but the season was too far advanced to accomplish his intentions.

General Wilkinson was called from the southern army, to command on the Ontario frontier. The force directly under his command amounted to eight thousand men, and he expected to be joined, in October, by the force under Harrison. General Hampton commanded about four thousand men at Plattsburg. The plan of the campaign

was, to descend the St. Lawrence, pass the British posts above, form a junction with General Hampton, and invade Montreal. The army, which had been distributed in different corps, and stationed at various points, was to be concentrated at some place most convenient for its embarkation. For this purpose, Grenadier's Island, which lies between Sackett's Harbor and Kingston, was selected, on account of its contiguity to the St. Lawrence, as the most proper place of rendezvous. On the 2d of October, 1813, Wilkinson left Fort George, with the principal body of the troops, and soon reached the island, where he occupied himself incessantly in making the necessary preparations for the prosecution of his enterprise. By the 23d, the troops thus collected exceeded seven thousand men.

General Brown, now a brigadier in the service of the United States, was ordered to take the command of the advance of the army at this place. On the 1st of November, a British squadron made its appearance near French Creek, with a large body of infantry. A battery of three eighteen pounders, skilfully managed by Captains M'Pher-son and Fanning, soon forced them to retire. The attack was renewed the next morning, but with no better success; and as the other corps of the army now daily arrived, the enemy thought proper to move off. On the 6th, the army was put in motion, and in the evening landed a few miles above the British Fort Prescott. After reconnoitring the passage at this place, and finding that the fort commanded the river, Wilkinson directed the fixed ammunition to be transported, by land, to a safe point below, and determined to take advantage of the night to pass with the flotilla, while the troops were marched to the same point, leaving on board the boats merely a sufficient number to navigate them. Availing himself of a heavy fog which came on in the evening, the commander endeavored to pass the fort unobserved; but, the weather clearing up and the moon shining, he was discovered by the enemy, who opened a heavy fire. General Brown, who was in the rear with the flotilla, thought it prudent to land for the present, until the night should grow darker. He then proceeded down the

river, but not without being discovered, and again exposed to a severe cannonade; notwithstanding which, not one of three hundred boats suffered the slightest injury. Before ten o'clock the next day, they had all safely arrived at the place of destination. A messenger was now despatched to General Hampton, informing him of the movement of the army, and requiring his coöperation. The army was delayed for half a day in extricating two schooners, loaded with provisions, which had been driven into a part of the river near Ogdensburg, by the enemy's fire. A body of twelve hundred men, under Colonel Macomb, being despatched to remove the obstructions to the descent of the army, he was followed by the main body. On passing the first rapids of the St. Lawrence, the barge of the commander-in-chief was assailed by two pieces of artillery, but without any other injury than cutting the rigging. The attention of the enemy was soon diverted by Lieutenant-Colonel Eustis, who returned their fire from some light barges, while Major Forsythe, at the same time, landed some of his riflemen, attacked them unexpectedly, and carried off three pieces of their artillery.

On the 9th of November, a skirmish occurred between the American riflemen and a party of militia and Indians. In the course of the day, the cavalry and four pieces of artillery, under Captain M'Pherson, were ordered to clear the coast as far as the head of the Longue Saut; and in the evening the army arrived at the place called the Yellow House, which stands near the Saut. As the passage of this place was attended with considerable difficulty, on account of the rapidity of the current and of its length, it was deemed prudent to wait until the next day; when Brown recommenced his march at the head of his troops. It was not long before he found himself engaged with a strong party at a block-house near the Saut, which, after a contest of a few minutes, was repulsed by the riflemen under Forsythe, who was severely wounded. About the same time, some of the enemy's galleys approached the flotilla, which had landed, and commenced a fire upon it, by which a number of boats were injured. Two eighteen-

pounders, however, being hastily run on shore, a fire from them soon compelled the assailants to retire. The day being now too far spent to attempt the Saut, it was resolved to postpone it until the day following. On the 11th, the enemy's galleys approached, for the purpose of attacking the rear of the American flotilla. General Boyd now advanced, with his detachment formed in three columns. Colonel Ripley passed the wood which skirts the open ground called Chrystler's Field, and drove in several of the enemy's parties. On entering the field, he met the advance of the British. Ripley immediately ordered a charge, which was executed with surprising firmness, so that these two regiments, nearly double his numbers, were compelled to retire; and, on making a stand, were, a second time, driven before the bayonet, and compelled to pass over the ravines and fences, by which the field was intersected, until they fell on their main body.

General Covington had, before this, advanced upon the right of the enemy, where his artillery was posted; and, at the moment Ripley had assailed the left flank, the right was forced by a determined onset, and success appeared scarcely doubtful. Unfortunately, however, Covington, whose activity had rendered him conspicuous, became a mark for the sharp-shooters of the enemy, stationed in Chrystler's house, and he was shot from his horse. The fall of this gallant officer arrested the progress of the brigade, and the artillery of the enemy threw it into confusion, and caused it to fall back in disorder. At this critical moment, Ripley, who had been engaged with the enemy's left flank, threw his regiment between the artillery and the advancing column, and frustrated their design. The British fell back with precipitation. The regiments which had broken had not retired from the field, but still continued to keep up an irregular fight with various success. The action soon after ceased, having been kept up for two hours, by little better than raw troops against an equal number of veterans. The British force consisted of detachments from the forty-ninth, eighty-fourth, hundred and fourth, the Voltigeurs, and the Glengary regiments. The

enemy soon after retired to their camp, and the Americans to their boats. In this battle, the loss of the Americans, in killed and wounded, amounted to three hundred and thirty-nine, of whom one hundred and two were killed. The British loss could not have been less than that of the Americans. This appears to have been a drawn battle; the British and Americans both leaving the ground.

On the 11th of November, the army joined the advance near Barnhart. The commander-in-chief received information from General Hampton, which put an end to the design against Montreal. On the 6th, a few days before the battle of Chrystler's Field, the commander-in-chief had given orders to Hampton to meet him at St. Regis; but soon after this order, a letter was received from Hampton, in which, after stating that, from the state of Wilkinson's supply of provisions, and the situation of the roads to St. Regis, which rendered it impossible to transport a greater quantity than could be carried by a man on his back, he had determined to open a communication from Plattsburgh to Conewago, or by any other point on the St. Lawrence which the commander-in-chief might indicate. Hampton, some time before this, with a view to a further movement of troops, had descended the Chateaugay river, about the same time that the army was concentrated on lake Ontario. Sir George Prevost, perceiving this movement towards Montreal, had collected all his force at this point to oppose the march of Hampton. On the 21st of October, the Americans crossed the line, but soon found the road obstructed by fallen timber, and the ambuscade of the enemy's militia and Indians. A wood of considerable extent was to be passed before they could reach the open country; and while the engineers were engaged in cutting their way through, Colonel Purdy was detached, with the light troops and one regiment of the line, to turn their flank, and then seize on the open country below. In this he succeeded, and the army by the next day reached the position of the advance. But it was discovered that about seven miles further there was a wood which had been felled, and formed into an abattis, and that a succession

of breastworks, some of them well supplied with artillery, had been formed by the main body of the enemy. Purdy, on the 25th, was ordered to march down the river on the opposite side, and, on passing the enemy, to cross over, and attack him in the rear, whilst the brigade under General Izard would attack him in front. Purdy had not marched far when his orders were countermanded; but, on his return, he was attacked by the enemy's infantry and Indians, and at first thrown into confusion, but the assailants were soon after repulsed. They came out at the same moment in front, and attacked Izard, but were compelled to retire behind their defences. Hampton, finding that the enemy was gaining strength, determined to retreat. A council of officers was called by the commander-in-chief, and the army retired to winter quarters at French Mills. In this manner the northern campaign, which had excited great expectations throughout the country, completely failed, in consequence of the gross incapacity of the commanders, Wilkinson and Hampton.

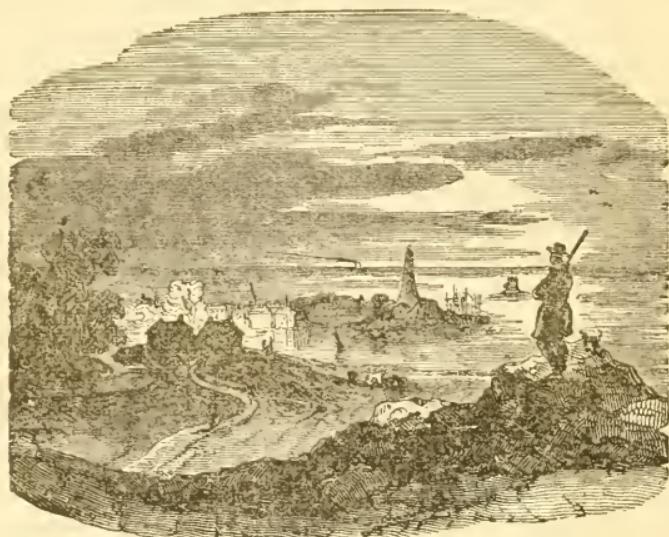
While these things were taking place on the land, the navy on the lake was not idle. Channeey, it has been seen, after his first attempt to bring the enemy to action, returned to Sackett's Harbor, for the purpose of obtaining a fresh supply of provisions. After being reinforced by a new schooner, he again sailed on a cruise; and, on the 17th of September, discovered the British squadron near the Niagara. The British, on perceiving the Americans, made sail to the northward, and were pursued during four days and nights; but, owing to the dull sailing of a greater part of the American squadron, they kept out of their reach. On the fourth day, off Genesee river, Chauncey, having a breeze, while the British lay becalmed, endeavored to close with them. This he was not able to accomplish, the enemy taking the breeze also, when the American squadron had approached within half a mile. After a running fight of more than three hours, the British escaped, but the next morning ran into Amherst Bay, whither the American commodore, for want of a pilot, did not think it prudent to follow, but contented himself with forming a

blockade. In the running fight the British sustained considerable injury; that of the Americans was very trifling. The blockade was continued until the 17th of September, when, in consequence of a heavy gale which blew from the westward, Chauncey was compelled to leave his station, and the British escaped into Kingston.

After remaining but a short time in Sackett's Harbor, Chauncey received information that the enemy was in the harbor of York. He, therefore, made sail to that place; and, on the 27th, early in the morning, discovered the enemy in motion in the bay, and immediately stood for him. This being perceived by the British commodore, he stood out, and endeavored to escape to the southward, but finding that the American was close upon him, tacked his squadron in succession, and commenced a well-directed fire at the Pike, in order to cover his rear. A smart action followed, in which the British had the worst of it, and made sail for the shore. The American squadron pursued them, but the chase was at length reluctantly given up, as it came on to blow almost a gale, and there was no hope of closing with the enemy before he could reach the British batteries, and without great risk of running ashore. Chauncey was justly entitled to claim a victory in this affair. Although the enemy were not captured, they were certainly beaten. Two of their vessels were at one moment completely in the power of the Americans; but, from his eagerness to close with the whole fleet, they effected their escape. In addition to the general policy of Sir James Yeo, the British commodore, the late affair on lake Erie had rendered him particularly careful to avoid an engagement. The loss on board Chauncey's ship, the General Pike, was considerable, owing to her having been so long exposed to the fire of the enemy's fleet; the most serious, however, was occasioned by the bursting of one of her guns, by which twenty-two men were killed and wounded; the total amounted to twenty-seven.

About the beginning of October, the commodore again chased the enemy's fleet for several days, and forced it to take refuge in Burlington Bay. The next morning, on send-

ing the Lady of the Lake to reconnoitre, it was discovered that Sir James had taken advantage of the darkness of night, and escaped to Kingston. Much pleasantry was indulged, at this time, at the shyness of the British knight, and his ungallant escape from the Lady of the Lake. The chase was now renewed, and, favored by the wind, Chauncey came in sight of seven schooners, and captured five of them, in spite of their efforts to escape by separating. Chauncey remained master of the lake during the remainder of the season.



View of Buffalo.

General Harrison arrived at Buffalo soon after the departure of the commander-in-chief, but could not follow for want of transports. He embarked after the main body had gone into winter quarters. Fort George was left under the command of General M'Clure, who commanded the militia, whose term of service had nearly expired. This force was soon reduced to a handful of men, and the place was no longer tenable. The enemy was in march with a large force. The fort was blown up, and the few troops crossed the river just in time to escape the British. But this retreat was preceded by an act which every American ought to condemn. Newark, a handsome little village,

near the fort, would greatly favor a besieging army; and orders were given by the secretary, that, if necessary for the *defence* of the fort, the village should be destroyed, to prevent the enemy from taking shelter in it. By an astonishing misconception of these orders, the general gave notice to the inhabitants to retire, and left the village in flames. The act was promptly disavowed by the government. The order, so misconceived, was soon enclosed to Sir George Prevost, expressing regret, and declaring the act unauthorized. Prevost, however, did not wait for the disavowal of the American government; he had already inflicted a retaliation sufficient to satisfy the vengeance of the fiercest enemy. At daylight on the 19th of December, Fort Niagara was surprised by Colonel Murray, with about four hundred men, and the garrison, nearly three hundred in number, and principally invalids, was put to the sword; not more than twenty being able to escape. The commanding officer, Captain Leonard, appears to have been shamefully negligent; he was absent at the time, and had used no precautions against an assault. Having possessed themselves of this place, they soon after increased their force, and immediately proceeded to lay waste the Niagara frontier with fire and sword. The militia, hastily collected, could oppose no resistance to a large body of British regulars and seven hundred Indians. A spirited but unavailing attempt was made by Major Bennett to defend Lewistown. This village, together with that of Manchester, Young's Town, and the Indian village of the Tuscaroras, were speedily reduced to ashes, and many of the inhabitants butchered.

Major Mellory advanced from Slosser, to oppose the invaders, but was compelled by superior numbers to retreat. On the 30th, a detachment landed at Black Rock, and proceeded to Buffalo. General Hall had organized a body of militia, but, on the approach of the enemy, they could not be induced to hold their ground. The village was soon after reduced to ashes, and the whole frontier, for many miles, exhibited a scene of ruin and devastation. Here was indeed ample vengeance for the burning of New-

ark. Even the British general was satisfied, as appears by his proclamation of the 12th of January: "The opportunity of punishment has occurred, and *a full measure of retribution has taken place!*" and he declared his intention of "pursuing no farther a system of warfare so revolting to his own feelings, and so little congenial to the British character."



Burning of Buffalo.

Notwithstanding the opposition on the floor of congress, the war was evidently becoming popular. The conduct of the enemy in the prosecution of hostilities was such as to awaken the feelings of every American. The victories which we had obtained at sea, came home to the feelings of the whole nation. Affairs in the south had assumed a serious aspect, and no sooner had the northern armies retired into winter quarters, than the public attention was kept alive by the interesting events which transpired in the country of the Creeks during the winter. That ill-fated people had at length declared war. In consequence of the threatening appearances to the south, and the hostilities which already prevailed with the Indians inhabiting the Spanish territory, Governor Mitchell, of Georgia, was required, by the secretary at war, to detach a brigade to the Oakmulgee river, for the purpose of covering the

frontier settlements of the state. Governor Holmes, of the Mississippi territory, was, at the same time, ordered to join a body of militia to the volunteers under General Claiborne, then stationed on the Mobile. In the course of the summer of 1813, the settlers in the vicinity of that river became so much alarmed, from the hostile deportment of the Creeks, that the greater part abandoned their plantations, and sought refuge in the different forts; while the peace party amongst the Creeks had, in some places, shut themselves up in forts, and were besieged by their countrymen.

The commencement of hostilities was witnessed by one of the most shocking massacres that can be found in the history of our Indian wars. The settlers, from an imperfect idea of their danger, had adopted an erroneous mode of defence, by throwing themselves into small forts or stations, at great distances from each other, on the various branches of the Mobile. Early in August, it was ascertained that the Indians intended to make an attack upon all these stations, and destroy them in detail. The first place which they would attempt would probably be Fort Mimms, in which the greatest number of families had been collected. Towards the latter part of August, information was brought that the Indians were about to make an attack on this fort, but unfortunately too little attention was paid to the warning. During the momentary continuance of the alarm, some preparations were made for defence, but it seems that it was almost impossible to rouse them from their unfortunate disbelief of the proximity of their danger. The fort was commanded by Major Beasley, of the Mississippi territory, with about a hundred volunteers under his command. By some fatality, notwithstanding the warnings he had received, he was not sufficiently on his guard, and suffered himself to be surprised on the 30th, at noon-day. The sentinel had scarcely time to notify the approach of the Indians, when they rushed, with a dreadful yell, towards the gate, which was wide open. The garrison was instantly under arms, and the major flew towards the gate, with some of his men, in order to close it, and, if possible, expel the enemy; but he soon after fell,

mortally wounded. The gate was at length closed, after great slaughter on both sides; but a number of the Indians had taken possession of a block-house, from which they were expelled, after a bloody contest, by Captain Jack. The assault was still continued for an hour on the outside of the pickets. The port-holes were several times carried by the assailants, and retaken by those within the fort.

The Indians now for a moment withdrew, apparently disheartened by their loss, but, on being harangued by their chief, Weatherford, they returned with augmented fury to the assault. Having procured axes, they proceeded to cut down the gate, and, at the same time, made a breach in the pickets, and, possessing themselves of the area of the fort, compelled the besieged to take refuge in the houses. Here they made a gallant resistance; but the Indians at length setting fire to the roofs, the situation of these unfortunate people became altogether hopeless. The agonizing shrieks of the unfortunate women and children at their unhappy fate, would have awakened pity in the breasts of tigers. It is only by those who have some faint idea of the nature of Indian warfare, that the horror of their situation can be conceived. The terror of the scene had already been sufficient to have bereft them of their senses; but what heart does not bleed at the recital of its realities? Not a soul was spared by these monsters. From the most aged person to the youngest infant, they became the victims of indiscriminate butchery; and some, to avoid a worse fate, even rushed into the flames. A few only escaped by leaping over the pickets while the Indians were engaged in the work of massacre. About two hundred and sixty persons, of all ages and sexes, thus perished, including some friendly Indians and about one hundred negroes.

On the receipt of this disastrous intelligence, the Tennessee militia, under the orders of General Jackson and General Cocke, immediately marched to the country of the Creeks. On the 2d of November, General Coffee was detached, with nine hundred men, against the Tallushatches towns, and reached the place about daylight the next morn-

ing. The Indians, apprized of his approach, were prepared to receive him. Within a short distance of the village, the enemy charged upon him, with a boldness seldom displayed by Indians. They were repulsed, and after a most obstinate resistance, in which they would receive no quarters, they were slain almost to a man, and their women and children taken prisoners. There were nearly two hundred of the warriors killed in this affair. The loss of the Americans was five killed and forty wounded. Late in the morning of the 7th, a friendly Indian brought intelligence to General Jackson, that, about thirty miles below his camp, were a number of Creeks collected at a place called Talledega, where they were engaged in besieging a number of friendly Indians, who must inevitably perish unless speedily relieved. This officer, whose resolutions were as rapidly executed as they were formed, marched at twelve o'clock the same night, at the head of twelve hundred men, and arrived within six miles of the place the next evening. At midnight he again advanced; by seven o'clock was within a mile of the enemy, and immediately made the most judicious arrangements for surrounding them. Having approached in this manner, almost unperceived, within eighty yards of the Indians, the battle commenced on their part with great fury; but, being repulsed on all sides, they attempted to make their escape, but soon found themselves enclosed; two companies having at first given way, a space was left through which a considerable number of the enemy escaped, and were pursued to the mountains with great slaughter. In this action, the American loss was fifteen killed and eighty wounded. That of the Creeks was little short of three hundred; their whole force exceeded a thousand.

General Cocke, who commanded the other division of the Tennessee militia, on the 11th detached General White from Fort Armstrong, where he was encamped, against the hostile towns on the Tallapoosa river. After marching the whole night of the 17th, he surprised a town at daylight, containing upwards of three hundred warriors, sixty of whom were killed, and the rest taken prisoners. Hav-

ing burnt several of their villages, which had been deserted, he returned, on the 23d, without losing a single man. The Georgia militia, under General Floyd, advanced into the Creek country about the last of the month. Receiving information that a great number of Indians were collected at the Autossee towns, on the Tallapoosa river,—a place which they called their beloved ground, and where, according to their prophets, no white man could molest them,—General Floyd, placing himself at the head of nine hundred militia and four hundred friendly Creeks, marched from his encampment on the Chatahouchee. On the evening of the 28th, he encamped within ten miles of the place, and, resuming his march at one o'clock, reached the towns about six, and commenced an attack upon both at the same moment. His troops were met by the Indians with uncommon bravery; and it was not until after an obstinate resistance, that they were forced, by his musketry and bayonets, to fly to the thickets and copses in the rear of the towns. In the course of three hours the enemy was completely defeated and the villages in flames. Eleven Americans were killed and fifty wounded,—among the latter the general himself. Of the enemy, it is supposed that, beside the Autossee and Tallasse kings, upwards of two hundred were killed. This just retribution, it was hoped, would bring these wretched creatures to a proper sense of their situation; but, unfortunately, it had not this effect;—they still persisted in their hostilities. In December, General Claiborne marched a detachment against the towns of Ec- canachaca, on the Alabama river. On the 22d, he came suddenly upon them, killed thirty of their warriors, and, after destroying their villages, returned with a trifling loss.

After the battle of Talledega, Jackson was left with but a handful of men, in consequence of the term of service of the militia having expired. On the 14th of January, 1814, he was fortunately reinforced by eight hundred volunteers from Tennessee, and, soon after, several hundred friendly Indians. He was also joined by General Coffee, with a number of officers, his militia having returned home. On

the 17th, with a view of making a diversion in favor of General Floyd, and at the same time of relieving Fort Armstrong, which was said to be threatened, he penetrated the Indian country. On the evening of the 21st, believing himself, from appearances, in the vicinity of a large body of Indians, he encamped with great precaution, and placed himself in the best attitude for defence. Some time in the night, one of his spies brought information that he had seen the enemy a few miles off, and, from their being busily engaged in sending away their women and children, it was evident they had discovered the Americans, and would either escape or make an attack before morning. While the troops were in this state of readiness, they were vigorously attacked on their left flank about daylight. The enemy was resisted with firmness, and, after a severe contest, they fled in every direction. This was, however, soon discovered to be a feint. Coffee, having been despatched, with four hundred men, to destroy the enemy's camp, with directions not to attack it if strongly fortified, returned with information that it would not be prudent to attempt it without artillery. Half an hour had scarcely elapsed, when the enemy commenced a fierce attack on Jackson's left flank. It seems they had intended, by the first onset, to draw the Americans into a pursuit, and by that means create confusion; but this was completely prevented by Jackson's causing his left flank to keep its position. Coffee, with about fifty of his officers, acting as volunteers, assailed the Indians on the left, while about two hundred friendly Indians came upon them on the right. The whole line giving them one fire, resolutely charged, and the enemy, being disappointed in their plan, fled with precipitation. On the left flank of the Indians the contest was kept up some time longer; General Coffee was severely wounded, and his aid killed. On being reinforced by a party of the friendly Indians, he compelled the enemy to fly, leaving fifty of their warriors on the ground. Jackson, being apprehensive of another attack, fortified his camp for the night. The next day, fearing a want of provisions, he found it necessary to

retreat, and, before night, reached Enotachopco, having passed a dangerous defile without interruption.

The Americans now continued their march without farther molestation. In these different engagements about twenty Americans were killed, and seventy-five wounded; in the last, about one hundred and eighty of the Creeks were slain. Meanwhile, General Floyd was advancing towards the Indian territory, from the Chatahouchee river. On the 27th of January his camp was attacked by a large body of Indians about an hour before day. They stole upon the sentinels, fired upon them, and then rushed with great impetuosity towards the line. The action soon became general; the front of both flanks was closely pressed, but the firmness of the officers and men repelled their assaults at every point. As soon as it became sufficiently light, Floyd strengthened his right wing, formed his cavalry in the rear, and then directed a charge; the enemy were driven before the bayonet, and, being pursued by the cavalry, many of them were killed. The loss of the Americans was seventeen killed, and one hundred and thirty-two wounded. That of the Indians could not be ascertained; thirty-seven of their warriors were left dead on the field. By this time it might be supposed that the Creeks had been satisfied with the experiment of war; but they appear to have been infatuated in a most extraordinary degree. From the influence of their prophets over their superstitious minds, they were led on from one ruinous effort to another, in hopes that the time would at last arrive when their enemies would be delivered into their hands.

Jackson, having received considerable reinforcements from Tennessee, and being joined by a number of friendly Indians, set out on an expedition to the Tallapoosa river. He proceeded from the Coosa on the 24th of March, reached the southern extremity of the New Youca on the 27th, at a place called the Horse-shoe Bend of the Coosa. Nature furnishes few situations so eligible for defence; and here the Creeks, by the direction of their prophets, had made their last stand. Across the neck of land they had

erected a breastwork of the greatest compactness and strength, from five to eight feet high, and provided with a double row of port-holes artfully arranged. In this place they considered themselves perfectly secure. The assailants could not approach without being exposed to a double and cross fire from the Indians who lay behind. The area, thus enclosed by the breastworks, was little short of one hundred acres. The warriors from Oakfuskee, Oakshaya, Hilebees, the Fish Ponds, and Eupata towns, had collected their forces at this place, in number exceeding a thousand.

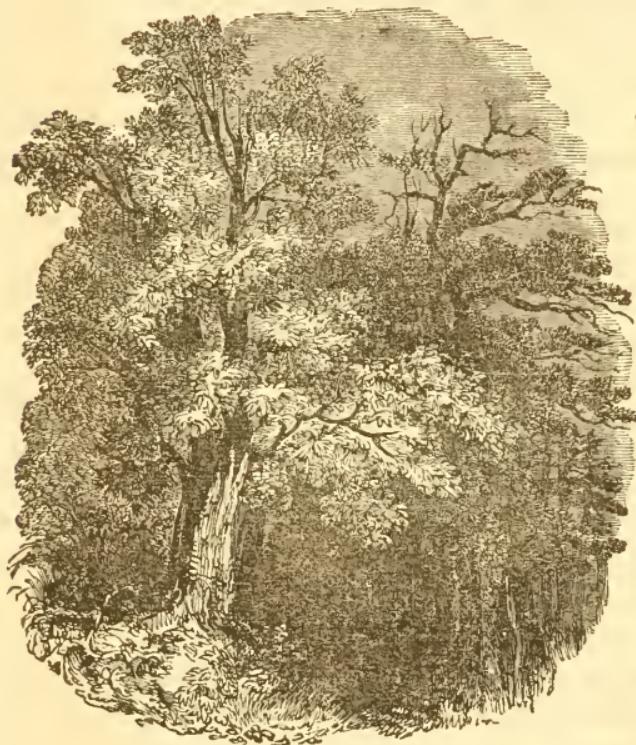
Early in the morning of the 27th, Jackson, having encamped the preceding night within six miles of the bend, detached Coffee, with the mounted men and nearly the whole of the Indian force, to pass the river at a ford about three miles below their encampment, and to surround the bend in such a manner that none of them should escape by attempting to cross the river. With the remainder of his force, Jackson advanced to the point of the breastwork, and planted his artillery on a small eminence, within eighty yards of the nearest point of the work, and within two hundred and fifty of the farthest. A brisk cannonade was opened upon the centre, and a severe fire was kept up with musketry and rifles when the Indians ventured to show themselves behind their defences. In the mean time, Coffee, having crossed below, had advanced towards the village. When within half a mile of that, which stood at the extremity of the peninsula, the Indians gave their yell. Coffee, expecting an immediate attack, drew up his men in order of battle, and in this manner continued to move forward. The friendly Indians had previously taken possession of the bank, for the purpose of preventing the retreat of the enemy; but they no sooner heard the artillery of Jackson, and the approach of Coffee, than they rushed forward to the banks; while the militia, apprehending an attack from the Oakfuskee villages, were obliged to remain in order of battle. The friendly Indians, unable to remain silent spectators, began to fire across the stream, about one hundred yards wide, while some plunged

into the river, and, swimming across, brought back a number of canoes. In these the greater part embarked, landed on the peninsula, then advanced into the village, drove the enemy from their huts up to the fortifications, and continued to annoy them during the whole action. This movement of the Indians rendered it necessary that a part of Coffee's line should take their place.

Jackson, finding that his arrangements were complete, at length yielded to the earnest solicitations of his men to be led to the charge. The regular troops were in a moment in possession of the nearest part of the breastworks; the militia accompanied them with equal firmness and intrepidity. Having maintained, for a few minutes, a very obstinate contest, muzzle to muzzle, through the port-holes, they succeeded in gaining the opposite side of the works. The event could no longer be doubtful. The enemy, although many of them fought with that kind of bravery which desperation inspires, were cut to pieces. The whole margin of the river which surrounded the peninsula was strewed with the slain. Five hundred and fifty-seven were found, besides those thrown into the river by their friends, or drowned in attempting to escape. Not more than fifty could have escaped. Among their slain was their great prophet Manahoe, and two others of less note. About three hundred women and children were taken prisoners. Jackson's loss was twenty-six white men killed, and one hundred and seven wounded; eighteen Cherokees killed, and thirty-six wounded; and five friendly Creeks killed, and eleven wounded.

This most decisive victory put an end to the Creek war. The spirit and power of these misguided men were completely broken. Jackson soon after scoured the country on the Coosa and Tallapoosa. A party of the enemy, on the latter river, on his approach, fled to Pensacola. The greater part of the Creeks now came forward, and threw themselves on the mercy of the victors. A detachment of militia from North and South Carolina scoured the country on the Alabama, and received the submission of a great number of Creek warriors and their prophets. In the

course of the summer, a treaty of peace was dictated to them, by Jackson, on severe but just terms. They agreed to yield a portion of their country as an indemnity for the expenses of the war.



CHAPTER XVIII.

WAR OF 1812.—*Operations on the northern frontier—Affair of La Cole Mill—Operations on lake Champlain—Naval affairs on lake Ontario—Capture of a British force at Sandy Creek—Operations on the Niagara frontier—Gallant exploit of Captain Holmes—War on the Atlantic coast—Attack of Saybrook—Gun-boat battle in Long Island Sound—Capture of Eastport—Bombardment of Stonington—Invasion of Maine—Cruise of the Constitution—Capture of the Epervier, Reindeer and Avon—Loss of the President—Capture of the Cyane and Levant—Cruise of the Hornet—Capture of the Penguin—Gallant exploit of the privateer Armstrong.*

THE northern army remained in their winter quarters, on the St. Lawrence, till the end of February, 1814, when, in pursuance of orders from the secretary at war, they removed to Plattsburg. From this place a body of two thousand men were marched to Sackett's Harbor, under General Brown, with a proportion of field-pieces and battering cannon. Towards the end of March, Wilkinson determined to erect a battery at a place called Rouse's Point, on lake Champlain, where his engineer had discovered a position from which the enemy's fleet, then laid up at St. John's, might be kept in check. The ice breaking up on the lake sooner than usual, defeated his plan. A body of the enemy, upwards of two thousand strong, on discovering his design, had been collected at La Cole Mill, three miles from Rouse's Point, for the purpose of opposing him. With a view of dislodging this party, and, at the same time, of forming a diversion in favor of Brown, who had marched against Niagara, Wilkinson, at the head of about four thousand men, crossed the Canada lines on the 30th of March.

After dispersing several of the enemy's skirmishing parties, he reached La Cole Mill, a large fortified stone house, occupied by the British. An eighteen-pounder was ordered

up, but, owing to the nature of the ground over which it had to pass, the transportation was found impracticable; a twelve-pounder and a five-inch howitzer were therefore substituted. These arrangements being made, the battery opened upon the house, and the fire was promptly returned. The different corps were greatly exposed to the fire from the house. It was found impossible to effect a breach, although the guns were managed with great skill. Captain M'Pherson was wounded at the commencement of the attack, but continued, notwithstanding, at his post, until a second shot had broken his thigh. His next officer, Larabee, was shot through the lungs. Lieutenant Sheldon kept up the fire until the end of the affair, and behaved in a manner which drew forth the praise of his general. The British commander, perceiving that the Americans persisted in bombarding the house, made a desperate sortie, and several times charged upon the cannon, in which he was repulsed by the covering troops, and compelled to retire to his fortress with loss. It being now found impracticable to make an impression on this strong building, whose walls were of unusual thickness, the commander-in-chief, calling in his different parties, fell back in good order. The loss of the Americans in this affair was upwards of one hundred and forty in killed and wounded; that of the British is not ascertained. Many were the difficulties under which the army labored, besides the deplorable incapacity of their general. Lack of system, a severe climate, sickness, unforeseen expenses, abuses in every department, want of experience and education in the subalterns, and the disgraceful conduct of many of the frontier inhabitants, in supplying the enemy with provisions, are among the number of misfortunes under which the country labored; besides which, the enemy was regularly informed of everything which transpired on the American side.

Shortly after the affair of La Cole, the greater part of the British force was collected at St. John's and the Isle Aux Noix, for the purpose of securing the entrance of the squadron into lake Champlain, on the breaking up of the ice. This was effected early in May. Some time before this,

on the suggestion of Wilkinson, Commodore M'Donough had fortified the mouth of Otter river, so as to secure a passage for his flotilla, which then lay at Vergennes, higher up the river, waiting for its armament. This precaution proved of great service. The commodore had labored with indefatigable industry, to provide a naval force on this lake, to cope with that of the enemy. The vessels had been built during the autumn and winter, but their armament did not arrive before spring.

The first object of the enemy, when they found the navigation open, was to attempt the destruction of the American fleet, before it could move upon its element, prepared to meet them. On the 12th of May, not long after the erection of the battery on the cape, at the entrance of the river, a bomb vessel, and three large galleys, were stationed by the enemy across the creek, for the purpose of blockading the squadron, and, at the same time, to intercept naval supplies, which, it was supposed, would be sent by water, for the purpose of completing its armament. Captain Thornton, of the light artillery, and Lieutenant Cassin, with a number of sailors, were ordered to the defence of the battery. Indications being, at the same time, discovered of an attempt by the enemy to assail the battery in the rear, General Davis, of the Vermont militia, called part of his brigade, in order to oppose the landing. At day-break, on the 14th, the enemy commenced an attack upon the works, but were so effectually resisted, that they were compelled to withdraw from their position with the loss of two galleys, which they were obliged to abandon. Soon after, the whole squadron moved down the lake, but not without some skirmishing with General Wright, of the militia, as they passed Burlington. Commodore M'Donough had attempted to bring some of the American vessels to the mouth of the river, but the British squadron had disappeared before he could attain his object.

While the naval preparations were making on lake Champlain, the winter and spring were taken up with the preparations for a contest of superiority on lake Ontario. The British converted it, however, into a contest in build-

ing the greatest number and the largest ships. At Kingston a ship of extraordinary size was building; for the enemy no longer trusted, as they had done with other nations, to superior seamanship and valor. Commodore Chaneey was under the necessity of building additional vessels, for the purpose of maintaining, as nearly as possible, an equality of force. On the 25th of April, 1814, three of the enemy's boats, provided with the means of blowing up the vessels, succeeded in getting close into Sackett's Harbor undiscovered, but before they could execute their purpose, they were detected, and fired upon by Lieutenant Dudley, the officer of the guard, on which they threw their powder into the lake, and pulled off. Failing in all these attempts, from the vigilance of the Americans, they next formed the determination to intercept the naval stores on their way from Oswego, where they had been deposited. Thither Sir James Yeo proceeded with his whole fleet, and having on board a large body of troops, under General Drummond, proceeded, on the 5th of May, with the determination of storming the town, and capturing the equipments destined for the new vessels.

The British commenced a heavy bombardment, which was kept up for several days. The unexpected and gallant resistance of the garrison, consisting of three hundred men, under Lieutenant-Colonel Mitchell, was in vain against such superior force. The schooner *Growler*, then in Oswego Creek to receive the cannon, was sunk, to prevent her from being taken, and all the tents that could be procured were pitched on the village side, to give the appearance of a large force of militia. At one o'clock, fifteen barges, filled with troops, moved towards the shore, preceded by several gun-boats, while a heavy cannonade was commenced by the larger vessels. They were so warmly received by the battery on shore, that the boats were twice repulsed, and one of the largest fell into the hands of the Americans. The squadron now stood off, but this was evidently for the purpose of renewing the attack, in such a manner as to render it effectual. They again approached on the 6th, having resolved to land under cover of their ships; they accord-

ingly kept up a heavy fire for three hours, while their land forces, two thousand in number, under General De Watteville, succeeded in gaining the shore, after being gallantly opposed by Lieutenant Pearce and his seamen. Colonel Mitchell now abandoned the fort, and, joining his corps to the marines and seamen, engaged the enemy's flank, and did great execution. Finding further resistance useless, he fell back, formed his troops, and took up his march to the falls of Oswego, destroying the bridges in his rear. Hither, to the inexpressible disappointment of the British, the naval stores had been removed, and all their trouble, and the loss which they sustained, procured them nothing more than a few barrels of provisions and some whiskey. This was purchased with the loss of two hundred and thirty-five men, in killed and wounded. They were certainly entitled to the victory, but they never thought proper to claim it. The loss of the Americans was sixty-nine in killed, wounded and missing; among the first, a promising officer, Lieutenant Blaney. On the evening of the same day, a part of the force proceeded to Pultneyville, and demanded the public stores. The inhabitants were unable to repel the invaders, who indulged themselves in their usual depredations; when General Swift, of the New York militia, opportunely arriving, with a part of his brigade, put them to flight.

The British, soon after, hearing that the Superior, which had lately been launched, had received her equipments from the interior, broke up the blockade and returned to Kingston. Another new ship, the Mohawk, was at this time on the stocks, and as she would have to be supplied with her equipments from the same place, it was determined, since the British had disappeared, to transport them by water, and avoid the expense and delay of land transportation. To deceive the enemy, who had numerous gun-boats hovering about the different creeks, a report was circulated that it was intended to forward the stores to the Oneida lake. Nineteen barges were loaded at Oswego, and Major Appling was despatched by General Gaines, with a detachment to aid Captain Woolsey, in their defence.

On the 28th of May, Captain Woolsey, finding the coast clear, reached the village by sunset, and, taking advantage of the darkness of the night, put into the lake. The next day they reached Sandy Creek, and, ascending it a few miles, despatched a boat to look out for the British on the lake; this boat was discovered by some gun vessels, and immediately chased. Major Appling and Captain Woolsey determined to draw them into an ambuscade. As had been anticipated, the enemy pushed their gun-boats and cutters up the creek, while a party landed and ascended along the bank. The Americans now rushed suddenly upon them, and, in a few moments, after one fire, by which a number of them were killed and wounded, the whole party was taken prisoners, consisting of four lieutenants of the navy, two lieutenants of the marines, and one hundred and thirty men, together with all their boats and cutters.

Captain Holmes, with a party of about one hundred and sixty rangers and mounted men, proceeded, on the 21st of February, against some of the enemy's posts. About the beginning of March, he received intelligence that a British force, which afterwards proved to be double his own, was descending the river Thames. Holmes, finding himself not in a situation to give battle, from the fatigues which his men had already encountered, and his ignorance of the strength of the enemy's party, fell back a few miles, and chose a strong position, where he was confident of being able to defend himself until he could obtain the necessary information of the British. He despatched a small body of rangers for this purpose, but which soon returned, pursued by the enemy, but without being able to learn his strength. The British, perceiving the strength of Holmes' position, resorted to stratagem for the purpose of drawing him from it. They feigned an attack, and then retreated, taking care not to show more than sixty or seventy men. Holmes now pursued, but with caution; and, after proceeding about five miles, discovered their main body drawn up to receive him, on which he immediately returned to his former position. Having disposed of his

troops in the most judicious manner, he firmly waited for them; being protected in front by a deep ravine, and the approaches on the other side somewhat difficult. The attack was commenced at the same moment on every point, with savage yells and the sound of bugles, the regulars charging up the heights from the ravine. The other sides were rapidly assailed by militia and Indians. They first approached within twenty paces of the American lines, against a very destructive fire; but the front section being cut to pieces, those who followed severely wounded, and many of their officers cut down, they retired to the woods, within thirty or forty paces, and the firing continued with great spirit on both sides. The American regulars, being uncovered, were ordered to kneel, that the brow of the heights might assist in screening them from the enemy. But the enemy's covering was insufficient, a single tree affording no shelter, even to one, from the extended line of the Americans, much less to the squads that stood together. On the other sides, the attack was sustained with equal coolness, and with considerable loss to the foe. The Americans had, on three sides, thrown together some logs hastily, and no charge being made, they could aim their pieces at leisure, with that deadly certainty which belongs to the backwoodsman. The British, after an hour of hard fighting, ordered a retreat; and, as the night approached, Holmes thought it not advisable to pursue; besides, his men were much fatigued, and many of them had nearly worn out their shoes on the hard frozen ground. The American loss on this occasion did not amount to more than six killed and wounded. According to the statement of the British, their loss was sixty-five killed and wounded, besides Indians. In consequence of his good conduct in this affair, Captain Holmes was promoted to the rank of major.

The northern sea-coast, which had thus far experienced little molestation from the enemy, became the object of attack early in the spring. On the 7th of April, a body of sailors and marines, to the number of two hundred, ascended the Connecticut river as far as Saybrook, where they

spiked the cannon, and destroyed the shipping. They proceeded thence to Brockway's Ferry, where they did the same, and, afterwards, unapprehensive of attack, carelessly remained twenty-four hours. In the mean time, a body of militia, together with a number of marines and sailors, under Captain Jones and Lieutenant Biddle, had collected for the purpose of cutting off their retreat; but the British, taking advantage of a very dark night, and using muffled oars, escaped to their fleet, after having destroyed two hundred thousand dollars' worth of shipping.

Abou* this time the coasting trade was much annoyed by a British privateer, the Liverpool Packet, which cruised in the sound. Commodore Lewis sailed with a detachment of thirteen gun-boats, and succeeded in chasing her off. On his arrival at Saybrook, he found upwards of fifty vessels bound to the eastward, but afraid to venture out. The commodore consented to take them under convoy, but was not able to promise them protection against the squadron then blockading New London. They, however, being disposed to run the risk, he sailed with them on the 25th, and, in the afternoon of the same day, was compelled to throw himself between his convoy and a British frigate, a sloop of war and a tender, and kept up a contest until the coasters had safely reached New London. Having attained his object, he determined to try what he could do with his gun-boats against the enemy's ships. Furnaces being hastily constructed, he began to throw hot balls at the enemy's sides, and repeatedly set their ships on fire, without receiving any injury himself. The sloop soon withdrew, and the fire was principally directed against the frigate. One shot passed through her, very near her magazine; her lieutenant and a great number of her men were already killed; her captain was on the point of striking, when he observed that the gun-boats had ceased firing. The night soon after coming on, the gun-boats desisted from the attack, determined to wait until morning. At daylight they perceived the squadron towing away. It was resolved to pursue them, but several other frigates soon made their appearance, and put a stop to this design.

Formidable squadrons were kept up before the ports of New York, New London, and Boston; and the whole eastern coast was exposed to the enemy. The war was carried on here in a very different manner from that at the south. Hardy, the British admiral, would not permit any wanton outrages upon private property, or upon defenceless individuals. In spite, however, of his general demeanor, there were particular instances of the contrary on the part of the officers commanding smaller parties, and actuated by a thirst for plunder. At the towns of Wareham and Scituate, they burned all the vessels at their moorings; and at the former they set fire to an extensive cotton manufactory. At a place called Boothbay, they met with a spirited resistance, and were repeatedly repulsed in various desperate attacks. An invasion of a more serious nature was made in July. On the 11th of that month, Hardy, with a strong force, made a descent on Moose Island, and, after taking possession of Eastport, declared all the islands and towns on the eastern side of Passamaquoddy Bay to appertain to his Britannic majesty, and required the inhabitants to appear, within seven days, and take the oath of allegiance. About two thirds of the inhabitants submitted; but, in the month of August, the council of the province of New Brunswick declared that, notwithstanding the oath of allegiance, they should be considered as a conquered people, and placed under military government. Eastport was soon after strongly fortified; but it was found extremely difficult for the enemy to subsist his troops, and the desertions were so frequent as to render it almost impossible to keep up a garrison.

Hardy soon after sailed, with a part of his squadron, for the purpose of attacking Stonington. The appearance of this force excited much alarm among the inhabitants, which was not diminished when they received a message from the commodore to remove the women and children, as he had received orders to reduce the place to ashes. The inhabitants, although with very trifling means of defence, determined to make an attempt to save their property. The handful of militia of the place repaired to a

small battery erected on the shore, and to a breastwork thrown up for musketry, and at the same time despatched an express to obtain assistance from General Cushing, commanding at New London. In the evening of the 8th of August, five barges and a large launch, filled with men, approached the shore, under cover of a heavy fire from the ships. The Americans, reserving their fire until the enemy were within short grape distance, opened their two eighteen-pounders, and soon compelled the invaders to retire out of the reach of their battery. They next proceeded to another part of the town, which they supposed defenceless; but a part of the militia being detached thither with a six-pounder, the barges were again repulsed. The enemy then retired to their ships, but determined to renew the attack in the morning; and, in the mean time, kept up a bombardment until midnight. The next morning it was discovered that one of the enemy's vessels had approached within pistol shot of the battery, and the barges advanced in still greater numbers than the day before; these were again gallantly repulsed, and the vessel driven from her anchorage. The squadron then renewed the bombardment of the town, but without effect; and, on the 12th, the commodore thought proper to retire. The inhabitants, after this gallant defence,—which, considering the means with which it was effected, and the great disparity of force opposed to them, deserves much praise,—once more occupied their dwellings in security.

Not long after this the British took possession of all that part of the district of Maine between Penobscot river and Passamaquoddy Bay, and declared it to be held as a colony. On the 1st of September, the governor of Nova Scotia and Admiral Griffith entered the Penobscot river, and took possession of Castine, which the garrison had previously evacuated. A proclamation was then issued, declaring that possession of that part of the province of Maine, east of the Penobscot, was formally taken in the name of his Britannic majesty. The country, which contained about thirty thousand inhabitants, was then gradually occupied, and possessed until the conclusion of the war.

Another affair took place soon after, which furnished a still stronger proof of the now acknowledged superiority of America upon the ocean, an acknowledgment more strongly expressed than by words. In the month of April, Captain Stewart was on his return in the Constitution, after a cruise, when he was chased by two British frigates and a brig, but escaped, by superior seamanship, into Marblehead. Some time before, after capturing the public schooner Picton, he fell in with the British frigate La Pique, Captain Maitland, who fled on the approach of the Constitution, and succeeded in making her escape.

The year 1814 was also distinguished by farther naval successes of the Americans. The sloop of war Peacock, Captain Warrington, while on a cruise, on the 29th of April, discovered the British brig of war Epervier, Captain Wales, having several vessels under convoy. Captain Warrington engaged the Epervier, while the others were making their escape. At the first broadside, the foreyard of the Peacock was totally disabled by two round shot in the starboard quarter. By this she was deprived of the use of her fore and fore- topsail, and was obliged to keep aloof during the remainder of the action, which lasted forty-two minutes. In this time she received considerable damage in her rigging, but her hull was not at all injured.

The Epervier struck, having five feet water in her hold, her topmasts over her side, her main boom shot away, her foremast cut nearly in two, her rigging and stays shot away, her hull pierced by forty-five shot, twenty of which were within a foot of her water line. Eleven of her crew were killed, and her first lieutenant and fourteen men wounded. The sum of one hundred and eighteen thousand dollars in specie was found in her, and transferred to the Peacock. The day following, Captain Warrington discovered two frigates in chase. He took all the prisoners on board the Peacock, and leaving a sufficient number on board the Epervier for the purpose of navigating her, he directed her to seek the nearest port. By skilful seamanship the captain succeeded in escaping from the enemy's ships, and reached Savannah, where he found his prize.

Lieutenant Nicholson, by his good management, had brought her in, after encountering very great difficulties.

The new sloop of war Wasp, Captain Blakely, sailed from Portsmouth, and, after capturing seven merchantmen, fell in with the British brig of war Reindeer, Captain Manners, in the British Channel. Captain Blakely commenced the action with his after carronades on the starboard side. Shortly after, the larboard bow of the enemy coming in contact with the Wasp, Captain Manners gave orders to board, but the attempt was gallantly repulsed by the crew of the Wasp, and the enemy was several times repelled. Orders were then given to board in turn. Throwing themselves with promptitude upon her deck, the Americans succeeded in the execution of their orders; and, at length, the flag of the enemy's ship came down. She was almost cut to pieces, and half her crew was killed and wounded. The loss of the Wasp was five killed and twenty-one wounded. The Reindeer, having been found altogether unmanageable, was blown up, and Captain Blakely steered for L'Orient, to provide for the wounded of both crews.

After leaving L'Orient, and capturing two valuable British merchantmen, Captain Blakely fell in with a fleet of ten sail, under convoy of the Armada seventy-four, and a bomb ship. He stood for them, and succeeded in cutting out of the squadron a brig, laden with brass and iron cannon and military stores, from Gibraltar. After taking out the prisoners and setting her on fire, he endeavored to cut out another, but was chased off by the seventy-four. In the evening of the 2d of September, at half past six, he descried two vessels, one on his starboard, and one on his larboard bow, and hauled for that which was farthest to windward. At seven she was discovered to be a brig of war, and at twenty-nine minutes past nine she was under the lee bow of the Wasp. An action soon after commenced, which lasted until ten o'clock, when Captain Blakely, supposing his antagonist to be silenced, ceased firing, and demanded if he had surrendered. No answer being returned, he commenced firing, and the enemy returned broadside for

broadside, for twelve minutes, when, perceiving that the two last were not returned, he hailed again, and was informed that she was sinking, and that her commander had struck. Before the Wasp's boat could be lowered, a second brig of war was discovered: the crew were instantly sent to their quarters, and the Wasp was standing to for the approach of the stranger, when two other brigs appeared. He now made sail, and endeavored to draw the first one after him, but without effect. The name of the prize has since been ascertained to have been the Avon, Captain Arbuthnot, of the same force as the Reindeer. She sunk immediately after the last man had been taken out of her. She had eight killed, and thirty-one wounded, including her captain, and several other officers. The Wasp soon repaired her damage, and continued on her cruise. On the 21st of September, she captured, off the Madeiras, her thirteenth prize, the British brig Atalanta, of eight guns, and the only one she sent into port. The return of this vessel, after her brilliant cruise, was, for a long time, fondly looked for by our country; but all hope has at last vanished of ever seeing her again. There is but little doubt that the brave commander and the gallant crew have found a common grave in the waste of ocean; but they will always live in the fond gratitude and recollection of their country.

The blockade of Commodore Decatur's squadron, at New London, having been continued until after the season had passed in which there existed any prospect of escape, the ships were ordered up the river, while the commodore, with his crew, were transferred to the President, then at New York. A cruise was contemplated, in conjunction with the Peacock, the Hornet, and the Tom Bowline store ship. The commodore, thinking it more safe to venture out singly, appointed a place of rendezvous, and ordered the other vessels to follow. In sailing out of the harbor of New York, by the negligence of the pilot, the President struck upon the bar, and remained there thumping for two hours, by which her ballast was deranged, and her trim for sailing entirely lost. The course of the wind preventing her from returning into port, she put to sea. At daylight she

fell in with a British squadron, consisting of the Endymion, Tenedos and Pomona frigates, and the Majestic razee. In spite of every exertion they gained upon her; the foremost, the Endymion, got close under her quarters and commenced firing. The commodore determined to bear up and engage her, with the intention of carrying her by boarding, and afterwards escaping in her, and abandoning his own ship. In this he was prevented by the manœuvring of the enemy, who protracted the engagement for two hours, until the rest of the squadron were fast gaining upon them. He now assailed the Endymion, and in a short time completely silenced her, leaving her a wreck. The President was also considerably damaged, having lost twenty-five men, killed and wounded. On the approach of the squadron, the gallant commodore, unwilling to sacrifice the lives of his men in a useless contest, on receiving the fire of the nearest frigate, surrendered. On this occasion we cannot pass in silence the dishonorable conduct of the British officers of the navy, where such ought least to have been expected.

The generous and heroic character of Decatur is acknowledged wherever the American flag is known, and requires no testimony in its support, for the British themselves have often declared their admiration of this chivalrous officer. The commodore was taken on board the Endymion, for the purpose of acting the miserable farce of surrendering his sword to the officer of a frigate of equal size, but which would have fallen into the hands of the commodore, but for the approach of the squadron. Decatur indignantly refused to give up his sword to any one but the commander of the squadron.

Not the least among the exploits of our naval heroes, was the capture of two of the enemy's ships of war by the Constitution, Captain Stewart. Having sailed on a cruise, he discovered, on the 20th February, 1815, two ships, one of which bore up for the Constitution, but soon after changed her course, to join her consort. The Constitution gave chase to both, and at six, P. M., ranged ahead of the stern-most, brought her on the quarter, her consort on the bow,

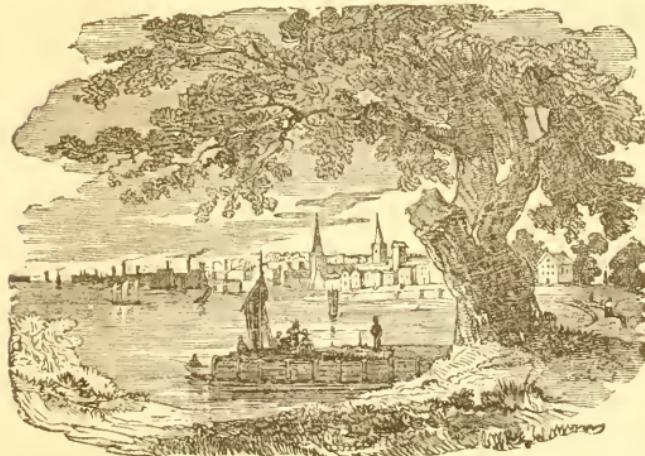
and opened a broadside, which was immediately returned. An exchange of broadsides continued until both ships were enveloped in smoke, upon the clearing away of which, the Constitution finding herself abreast of the headmost ship, Captain Stewart ordered both sides to be manned, backed topsails, and dropped into his first position. The ship on the bow backed sails also. The Constitution's broadsides were then fired from the larboard battery, and in a few moments the ship on the bow, perceiving her error in getting stern-board, filled away with the intention of tacking athwart the bows of the Constitution, while the other fell off entirely unmanageable. The Constitution then filled away in pursuit of the former, and, coming within a hundred yards, gave her several raking broadsides, and so crippled her that no further apprehensions were entertained of her ability to escape. The captain therefore returned to the first, which immediately struck. Possession was then taken of her by Lieutenant Hoffman, and she proved to be the frigate Cyane, Captain Gordon Falcon, of thirty-four guns. Captain Stewart then steered in pursuit of the other vessel, and after a short resistance, in which she suffered considerably, she struck, with five feet water in her hold. She proved to be the sloop of war Levant, of eighteen thirty-two pound carronades. The loss on board the two ships amounted to about eighty in killed and wounded; on board the Constitution there were four killed and eleven wounded; but the ship received a very trifling injury. On the 10th of March, Captain Stewart entered the harbor of Port Praya with his prizes, and on the 11th, the British squadron, of two sixty-gun ships and a frigate, appeared off the entrance of the harbor. Captain Stewart, having no faith in his security in this neutral port, made sail with his prize, the Cyane, and, though closely pursued, had the good fortune to escape into the United States. The Levant was recaptured in a Portuguese port, in contempt of the neutral state. The Peacock, Hornet, and Tom Bowline, left New York a few days after the President, without having received information of her capture. On the 23d of January, 1815, the Hornet parted company, and directed her course to Tristan,

Da Cunha, the place of rendezvous. On the 23d of March, she descried the British brig Penguin, Captain Dickinson, of eighteen guns and a twelve-pound carronade, near that island. Captain Biddle hove to, while the Penguin bore down. At forty minutes past one, the British vessel commenced the engagement. The firing was hotly kept up for fifteen minutes, the Penguin gradually nearing the Hornet, with the intention to board, her captain having given orders for this purpose, but was killed by a grape shot. Her lieutenant then bore her up, and running her bowsprit between the main and mizzen rigging of the Hornet, gave orders to board. His men, however, perceiving the crew of the Hornet ready to receive them, refused to follow him. At this moment, the heavy swell of the sea lifted the Hornet ahead, and the enemy's bowsprit carried away her mizzen shrouds and spanker boom, and the Penguin hung upon the Hornet's quarter, with the loss of her foremast and bowsprit. Her commander then called out that he had surrendered, and Captain Biddle ordered his men to cease firing. At this moment an officer of the Hornet called to Captain Biddle, that a man was taking aim at him in the enemy's shrouds. He had scarcely changed his position, when a musket ball struck him in the neck, and wounded him severely. Two marines immediately levelled their pieces at the Englishman, and killed him before he brought his gun from his shoulder. The Penguin had, by that time, got clear of the Hornet, and the latter wore round to give the enemy a fresh broadside, when they cried out a second time that they had surrendered. It was with great difficulty that Captain Biddle could restrain his crew, who were exasperated at the conduct of the enemy. In twenty-two minutes after the commencement of the action, she was taken possession of by Lieutenant Mayo, of the Hornet. The Penguin was so much injured, that Captain Biddle determined on taking out her crew and scuttling her; and afterwards sent off his prisoners by the Tom Bowline, which by this time had joined him with the Peacock. The enemy lost fourteen killed, and twenty-eight wounded; the Hornet one killed and eleven wounded. Captain

Biddle, being compelled to part from the Peacock by the appearance of a British ship of the line, after being closely pursued for several days, effected his escape into St. Salvador, where the news of peace soon after arrived. The capture of the Cyane, the Levant, and the Penguin, took place before the expiration of the time limited by the second article of the treaty of peace.

The exploits of the privateers continued to rival those of our national vessels. In one instance the enemy was compelled to pay dearly for his disregard of the sanctuary of a neutral port. The privateer Armstrong lay at anchor in the harbor of Fayal, when a British squadron, consisting of the Carnation, the Plantagenet, and the Rota, hove in sight. Captain Reid, of the privateer, discovering, by the light of the moon, that the enemy had put out his barges, and was preparing to attack him, cleared for action, and moved near the shore. Four boats, filled with men, approached, and making no answer on being hailed, a fire was opened upon them, which was returned; but they soon called out for quarter, and were permitted to haul off. They then prepared for a more formidable attack. The privateer was now anchored within a cable's length of the shore, and within pistol shot of the castle. The next day they sent a fleet of boats, supported by the Carnation, which stood before the harbor, to prevent the escape of the privateer. At midnight, the boats approached a second time, to the number of twelve or fourteen, manned with several hundred men. They were suffered to approach alongside of the privateer, and, without waiting an attack, they were assailed with such astonishing fury, that, in forty minutes, scarcely a man of them was left alive. During these attacks, the shores were lined with the inhabitants, who, from the brightness of the moon, had a full view of the scene. The governor, with the first people of the place, stood by and saw the whole affair. After the second attack, the governor sent a note to the commander of the Plantagenet, Captain Lloyd, requesting him to desist, but was answered, that he was determined to have the privateer at the risk of knocking down the town.

The American consul having communicated this information to Captain Reid, he ordered his crew to save their effects as fast as possible, and to carry the dead and wounded on shore. At daylight the Carnation stood close to the Armstrong, and commenced a heavy fire; but, being considerably cut up by the privateer, she hauled off to repair. Captain Reid, now thinking it useless to protract the contest, on her re-appearance, scuttled his vessel, and escaped to the shore. The British loss amounted to one hundred and twenty killed, and one hundred and thirty wounded; that of the Americans was only two killed and seven wounded. Several houses in the town were destroyed, and some of the inhabitants wounded.



CHAPTER XIX.

WAR OF 1812.—*Negotiations for peace—Campaign on the Niagara—Battles of Chippeway and Bridgewater—Affairs in the Chesapeake—Capture of Washington—Attack on Baltimore—Affairs on the Champlain frontier—Invasion of Prevost—Battle of Plattsburg and McDonough's victory—Invasion of Louisiana—Battle of New Orleans—Peace of Ghent.*

DURING the course of the preceding events, the United States had made every demonstration of a wish to put an end to hostilities on reasonable terms. In these efforts they were aided by the emperor of Russia, who, early in 1813, offered his mediation between the two powers. The government of the United States acceded to this proposal, and despatched three commissioners, Adams, Gallatin and Bayard, to St. Petersburg, with power to conclude a treaty of peace. This reasonable offer, however, was rejected by the British cabinet, on the most frivolous grounds.

The campaign of 1814, on the Niagara frontier, did not commence till the summer was far advanced, when a pretty strong American force was concentrated at Black Rock. On the 2d of July, a body of three thousand five hundred men, commanded by General Brown, crossed the river and captured Fort Erie. A force of three thousand British, under General Riall, was posted at Chippeway, in a very strong position. Brown advanced against them on the 5th, and a general engagement ensued on the plain in front of the town. Both sides combatted with great obstinacy. Generals Ripley and Scott distinguished themselves at the head of their respective corps. After many vicissitudes, in which the tide of success fluctuated between the contending armies, the Americans followed up their attack so fiercely that the British were repulsed at every point, and

retreated slowly till near the town, when their retreat became a confused and precipitate flight. They rallied, however, under the batteries of Chippeway, and night put an end to the battle. The British suffered a loss in the battle of Chippeway of four hundred and fifty-three killed and

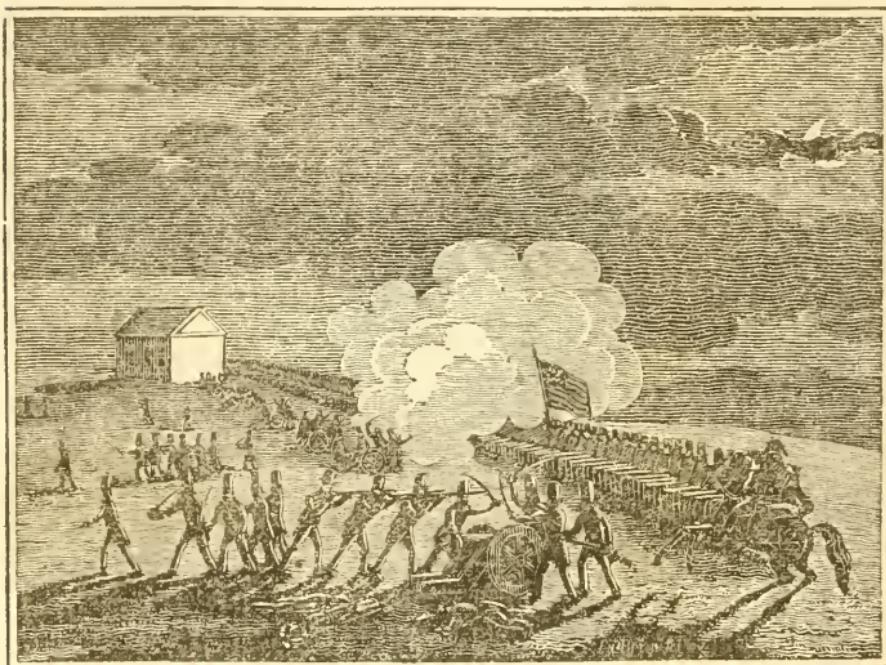


Battle of Chippeway.

wounded, with forty-six prisoners. The loss of the Americans, in killed, wounded and missing, was three hundred and twenty-eight. The merit of this victory was much augmented by the fact that the American troops were mostly raw recruits, while the British were veterans who had fought under Wellington.

Brown continued to advance upon the enemy, who drew off in the direction of Fort George. After much skirmishing, the two armies met in battle at Bridgewater, near the falls of Niagara, on the 25th of July. The enemy occupied an eminence well fortified, and defended by thrice the number of men mustered by the Americans, while the latter sustained the unequal conflict more than an hour, when orders were given to *advance, and charge the enemy's*

heights, and break the British line. But, the order being countermanded, the British pressed forward on the ninth regiment, which, with wonderful firmness, withstood the attack of their overwhelming numbers. The desperate efforts of the troops led General Riall, the British commander, to overrate the numbers to which he was opposed, and he sent to General Drummond for reinforcements.



Battle of Bridgewater.

About this time an awful pause ensued between the two armies; for a time no sound broke upon the stillness of the night, but the groans of the wounded, mingled with the distant din of the cataract of Niagara. The shattered regiments were consolidated into one brigade, and the struggle continued with various manœuvres. Captain Ketchum had the good fortune to make prisoner of General Riall, and of the aide of General Drummond; the latter a most fortunate circumstance, as it prevented the concentration of the British force, contemplated by that officer, before the Americans were prepared for his reception.

The enemy's artillery occupied a hill, which was the

key to the whole position, and it would be in vain to hope for victory while they were permitted to retain it. General Ripley, addressing himself to Colonel Miller, inquired, whether he could storm the batteries at the head of the twenty-first, while he would himself support him with the younger regiment, the twenty-third. To this the wary but intrepid veteran replied, in an unaffected phrase, “I WILL TRY, SIR;”—words which were afterwards given as the motto of his regiment. The batteries were immediately stormed, and carried at the point of the bayonet.

Disheartened by these repeated defeats, the British were on the point of yielding the contest, when they received fresh reinforcements from Fort Niagara, which revived their spirits, and induced them to make another and still more desperate struggle. A conflict, dreadful beyond description, ensued. The right and left repeatedly fell back, but were again rallied. At length the two lines closed with each other on the very summit of the hill, which they contested with terrific violence at the point of the bayonet. The British were completely beaten, and retired beyond the borders of the field, leaving their dead and wounded. The loss, on this occasion, was in proportion to the obstinacy of the conflict, the whole being seventeen hundred and twenty-nine; of which the British amounted to twenty-seven more than the Americans. Generals Brown and Scott were both wounded. The Americans now fell back upon Fort Erie and extended its defences. Having been reinforced by a thousand men, the enemy appeared before Fort Erie on the 3d of August, and commenced with regular approaches. By the 7th, the defences were sufficient to keep the enemy at bay. Until the 14th, the cannonade was incessant, and the enemy gained ground, but in skirmishes the Americans were generally victorious. General Gaines now commanded at Erie, and Colonel Drummond was preparing to assail him. At half past two in the morning of the 15th, the attack was commenced by three columns. On the second attempt, the British gained the parapet, and the enemy received the orders of Colonel Drummond, to “*give no quarter!*” The order was faith-

fully executed, and a terrible strife ensued. Colonel Drummond was killed, and the British were finally defeated. Their loss in this assault was two hundred and twenty-two killed, including fourteen officers of distinction, one hundred and seventy-four wounded, and one hundred and eighty-six prisoners. The Americans lost seventeen killed, fifty-six wounded, and ten prisoners.

Nothing further of particular importance took place until September, when General Brown, observing that the enemy had just completed a battery, which could open a most destructive fire, the next day planned a sortie, which has been considered a military *chef-d'œuvre*. The British force consisted of three brigades, of one thousand five hundred men each, one of which was stationed at the works in front of Fort Erie; the other two occupied a camp two miles in the rear. Their design was to storm the batteries, destroy the cannon, and drive off the besiegers. Porter, Davis, Ripley and Miller took charge of this hazardous enterprise, and, on the 17th, assaulted the enemy's batteries with such fury, that, after a short conflict, the works fell into the hands of the Americans. The cannon were then spiked, the batteries demolished, and the Americans returned to the fort with their prisoners, and the trophies of this signal exploit. The American loss in this affair was five hundred and eleven; that of the enemy upwards of a thousand, besides their cannon.

We now return to the war upon the coast. About the middle of August, the British entered the Chesapeake with a fleet of about sixty sail, including transports, under Admiral Cockburn, and landed six thousand men at Benedict, on the Patuxent, under the command of General Ross. On the 22d, they reached the Wood-yard, twelve miles from Washington, where Commodore Barney caused a large flotilla of gun-boats to be destroyed, to prevent their falling into the hands of the enemy. On the 23d, the British reached Bladensburg, six miles from Washington, where they dispersed the militia, after a short resistance, and advanced to the city. Commodore Barney had assembled a small force in defence of the capital, but he was

soon overpowered by numbers, wounded and taken prisoner, and the capital fell into the hands of the enemy. By order of General Ross, the capitol, the president's house, the executive offices, the navy-yard and the ships were burnt. The enemy retired, on the night of the 25th, by rapid marches, and regained their ships.

On the 11th of September, the British appeared at the mouth of the Patapsco, about fourteen miles from Baltimore, with a fleet of ships of war and transports, amounting to fifty sail. On the next day, the land forces, to the number of six thousand men, the veterans of Wellington, debarked at North Point, and, under the command of General Ross, took up their march for the city. A body of three thousand militia, under General Stricker, marched towards North Point, to oppose the enemy. On the 12th, they reached the head of Bear Creek, seven miles from the city, where they halted, with the exception of the cavalry and riflemen, who were pushed forward in advance of the encampment. The next morning information was received that the enemy were debarking troops under cover of their gun-vessels, which lay off the bluff at North Point, within the mouth of the Patapsco river. The baggage was immediately ordered back under a strong guard, and dispositions were made to receive the enemy. A detachment was ordered to advance, which had scarcely proceeded half a mile, when they came in contact with the main body of the enemy. A sharp skirmish ensued, in which several of the Americans were killed and wounded, but not unrevenged, for in this affair the enemy lost their commander-in-chief, General Ross. This officer had imprudently proceeded too far, for the purpose of reconnoitring, when he was killed by one of the company of Captain Howard, who was in the advance.

After the death of Ross, the command devolved on Colonel Brook, who continued to push forward, notwithstanding this occurrence. The American detachment fell back; the enemy commenced throwing rockets, which did no injury; and immediately the American artillery opened their fire upon them. The enemy's right column now dis-

played, and advanced. Unfortunately, at this juncture, an American regiment, from some sudden panic, after giving a random fire, broke and retreated in such confusion as rendered it impossible to rally it, and occasioned much disorder. The fire by this time became general, from right to left; the artillery poured an incessant and destructive stream upon the enemy's left column, which endeavored to shelter itself behind a log house, but this was instantly in a blaze.

About ten minutes past three, the British line came on with a rapid discharge of musketry. The fire was incessant, until about twenty-five minutes before four o'clock, during which time General Stricker gallantly contended against four times his numbers; but, finding that the unequal contest could be maintained no longer, and that the enemy was about to outflank him, he was compelled to retire upon his reserve, which he effected in good order.

In the mean time, the naval attack on Fort M'Henry had already commenced from five British bomb vessels, at the distance of two miles; when, finding themselves sufficiently near, they anchored, and kept up an incessant bombardment. A tremendous fire was opened from the fort, which compelled them, precipitately, to gain their former position. The bombardment was kept up during the whole day and night. The city of Baltimore, thus assailed on both sides, awaited the result with death-like silence, and yet no eye was closed in sleep.

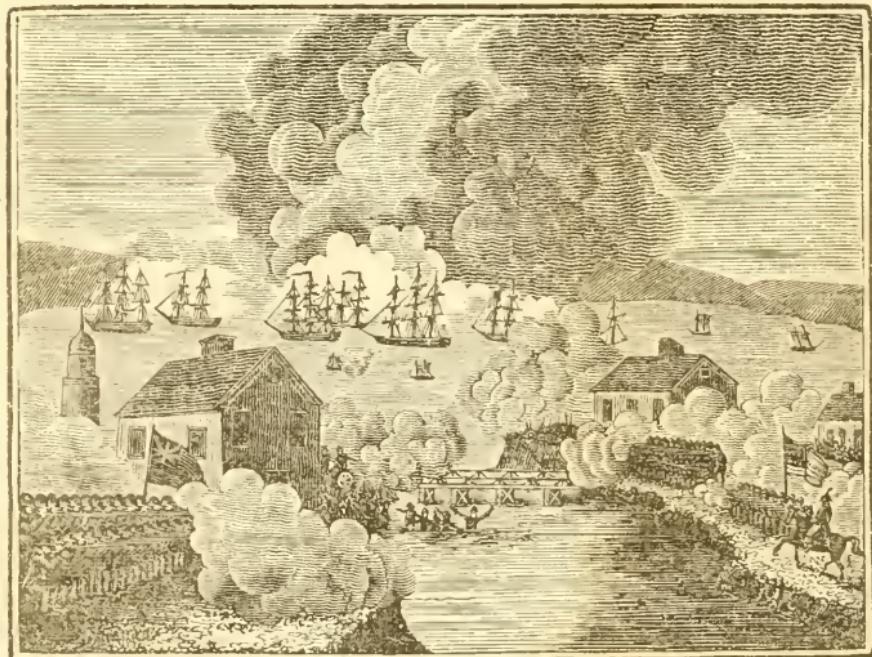
By the next morning the bombardment ceased, after upwards of fifteen hundred shells had been thrown, a large portion of which burst over the fort, and scattered their fragments amongst its defenders. The enemy, not willing to abide such rough handling, retreated under cover of a dark and stormy night, and, in the morning, General Winder was detached in pursuit; but the time which had elapsed was sufficient for embarkation, and the rear could not be cut off. The next day the fleet descended the bay, to the great joy of the inhabitants of Baltimore.

We shall now return to the operations on the northern frontier. About the 1st of September, Sir George Prevost

led his army to Plattsburg, while the fleet proceeded up lake Champlain on his left, to make a simultaneous attack by land and water. The peace in Europe permitted the English government to transport large bodies of troops, and they had already sent on a considerable army to Canada. Fourteen thousand of these were organized, under Prevost, and the remainder were sent to oppose General Brown, on the Niagara. To oppose this overwhelming force, General Macomb, the American commander in the north, had but fifteen hundred regulars, including new recruits and invalids. The works were in no state of defence, and the stores and ordnance were in great disorder. The British took possession of Champlain, on the 3d of September, and, from the proclamations and impressments of wagons and teams in this vicinity, it was soon discovered that their object was an attack on Plattsburg. Not a moment was to be lost in placing the works in a state of defence. Macomb called on General Mooers for the New York militia. Mooers collected about seven hundred; and small detachments were posted so as to watch and harass the enemy, who continued to advance till they reached Plattsburg, which is situated on the northeast side of the Saranac, near its entrance into lake Champlain, directly opposite the American works. The town was, of course, abandoned, and occupied by the British. Attempts were made to take possession of the bridge, but it was resolutely guarded by the Americans. When our troops had passed the bridge, the planks were raised, and used for a breastwork. The enemy, now masters of the village, instead of attempting to carry the American works on the opposite side of the river, which their vast superiority of force might have enabled them to do, contented themselves with erecting works, whence they continued to annoy the Americans, and constantly skirmishing at the bridges and fords. By the 11th, the fifth day of the siege, a considerable force of New York and Vermont militia, which had been continually collecting, lined the Saranac, and repelled the attempts of the British to cross, while, at the same time, a considerable body was sent to harass their rear. There was

scarcely an intermission to the skirmishes which took place between them and the militia, who acted, after the first day, with great intrepidity.

The principal cause of delay, which was fortunate for the Americans, was the momentary expectation of the British fleet, which was intended to coöperate. On the morning of the 11th, at eight o'clock, the look-out boat of Commodore M'Donough announced its approach. It consisted of the *Confiance*, carrying thirty-nine guns, twenty-seven of which were twenty-four pounders; the brig *Linnet*, of sixteen guns; the sloops *Chub* and *Finch*, each carrying eleven guns; thirteen galleys, five of which carried two, and the remainder one gun. M'Donough, at this moment, lay at anchor in Plattsburg bay. His fleet consisted of the *Saratoga*, of twenty-six guns; the *Eagle*, of twenty; the *Ticonderoga*, of seventeen, the *Preble*, seven;



Battle of Plattsburg.

and ten galleys. Besides the advantage which the enemy possessed in being able to choose their position, their force was much superior. The number of guns in the British

fleet amounted to ninety-five, and of men to upwards of a thousand; while that of the Americans was eighty-six, and the number of men less by two hundred. The American vessels were moored in line, with five gun-boats and galleys on each flank. At nine o'clock, the British anchored in line, abreast of the American squadron, at about three hundred yards distance.

In this situation the whole force on both sides became engaged; and, at the same moment, the contest commenced between Macomb and Prevost. One of the British sloops was soon thrown out of the engagement, by running on a reef of rocks, while one division of the enemy's galleys was so roughly handled as to be compelled to pull out of the way. The American commodore maintained the unequal contest for two hours; but the greater weight of the enemy's battery seemed to incline the scale of victory, although he suffered prodigiously. The chances against the Saratoga were accidentally increased by the commander of the Eagle, who, not being able to bring his guns to bear as he wished, cut his cable, and anchored between the Ticonderoga and Saratoga, by which this vessel was exposed to a galling fire from the enemy's brig. The guns on the starboard side had by this time been either dismounted or become unmanageable. The situation of the enemy was but little better. To both, the fortune of the day depended on the execution of one of the most difficult naval manœuvres—to wind their vessel round, and bring a new broadside to bear. The Confiance essayed it in vain, but the efforts of the Saratoga were successful. A stern anchor was let go, the bower cable cut, and the ship winded with a fresh broadside on the frigate, which soon after surrendered. A broadside was then brought to bear on the brig, which surrendered in fifteen minutes after. The sloop opposed to the Eagle had struck to Captain Henley some time before, and drifted down the line. Three of the galleys were sunk, the others escaped; all the rest of the fleet surrendered. By the time this bloody contest was over, there was scarcely a mast in either squadron capable of bearing a sail, and the greater part of the ves-

sels in a sinking state. There were fifty round shot in the hull of the Saratoga, and in the Confiance one hundred and five. The Saratoga was twice set on fire by hot shot. The action lasted two hours and twenty minutes. Captain Downie, the commander of the Confiance, was killed. The total loss in the American squadron amounted to fifty-two killed and fifty-eight wounded. The loss of the enemy was eighty-four killed, one hundred and ten wounded, and eight hundred and fifty-six prisoners, which actually exceeded the number of their captors.

This engagement, so deeply interesting to the two rival nations, took place in sight of the hostile armies. But they were by no means quiet spectators of the scene; a hot engagement was kept up during the whole time; the air was filled with bombs, rockets, shrapnels, and hot balls. Three desperate efforts were made, by the British, to cross over and storm the American works, in which they were as often repulsed, with considerable loss. An attempt to force the bridge was bravely defeated. The British attempted a ford about three miles above, but were so briskly assailed by a body of volunteers and militia posted in a wood, that the greater part of the detachment was cut to pieces. The efforts of the enemy naturally relaxed, after witnessing the painful sight, so little expected, of the entire capture of their fleet. The firing was, however, kept up until night. At night the enemy withdrew their artillery, and raised the siege. The plans of Prevost were completely frustrated. Under the cover of the night, he sent off all his baggage and artillery for which he found means of transportation; and, before day the next morning, his whole force precipitately retreated, leaving behind their sick and wounded. Vast quantities of military stores and munitions of war were abandoned by them, and still greater quantities were afterwards found hid in marshes, or buried in the ground. They were hotly pursued; a number of stragglers were picked up, and upwards of five hundred deserters came in.

Thus was this portentous invasion most happily repelled, and another of our inland seas made glorious by the vic-

tories of free Americans. Meantime, negotiations for peace were going on in Europe, but the British demanded a large portion of territory, and a total relinquishment of the lake-shores, as a *sine qua non*. To these conditions it is evident our government could not accede, and the negotiations were broken off.

About this time, a convention, composed of delegates from several of the New England states, met at Hartford, the members of which were hostile to the war. This step occasioned much excitement, and was the subject of many speculations. It was charged with the design of sundering the union of the states; but, after a brief session, terminated in an address and remonstrance, or petition to congress, enumerating several objections to the federal constitution. It was presented to several states for approbation, but was uniformly rejected.

The public attention was next awakened by a most alarming state of affairs to the southward. The Creek war was renewed, and a powerful invasion of Louisiana was threatened. General Jackson, after concluding a treaty with the Creeks, moved his head quarters to Mobile. Here, about the latter end of August, he received certain information that three British ships of war had arrived at Pensacola, and that thirteen ships of the line, with transports, were daily expected, with ten thousand troops, for the purpose of invading some of the southern states. On the receipt of this information, he immediately wrote to the governor of Tennessee, calling for the whole quota of that state.

On the 15th of September, three vessels of war, from Pensacola, appeared before Fort Bowyer, which commands the entrance to Mobile Bay. A proclamation was issued by Colonel Nichols, commanding his majesty's forces in Florida, addressed to the inhabitants of Louisiana, Kentucky and Tennessee, inviting them to aid the British. He likewise made a proposition to the pirates of Barataria. This nest of desperadoes amounted to five or six hundred, and their commander, Lafitte, had been outlawed by the American government. Lafitte rejected the British offer,

and, on a pardon being offered him by the governor of Louisiana, he joined the Americans.

Jackson, finding the governor of Pensacola affording assistance to the British, marched to the attack of the place. Pensacola was taken on the 7th of November. The commandant of the fort evacuated it with his troops just as the Americans were preparing to make a furious assault. The British withdrew their shipping, and Jackson, having accomplished his purpose, returned to Mobile. Hearing of the danger of New Orleans, he next repaired thither for its defence, and arrived on the 2d of December. He put in requisition all the powers of his mind, and took the most active measures to prevent the effects of an expected invasion. Batteries were constructed in important situations, and every obstruction put in the way of the invaders.

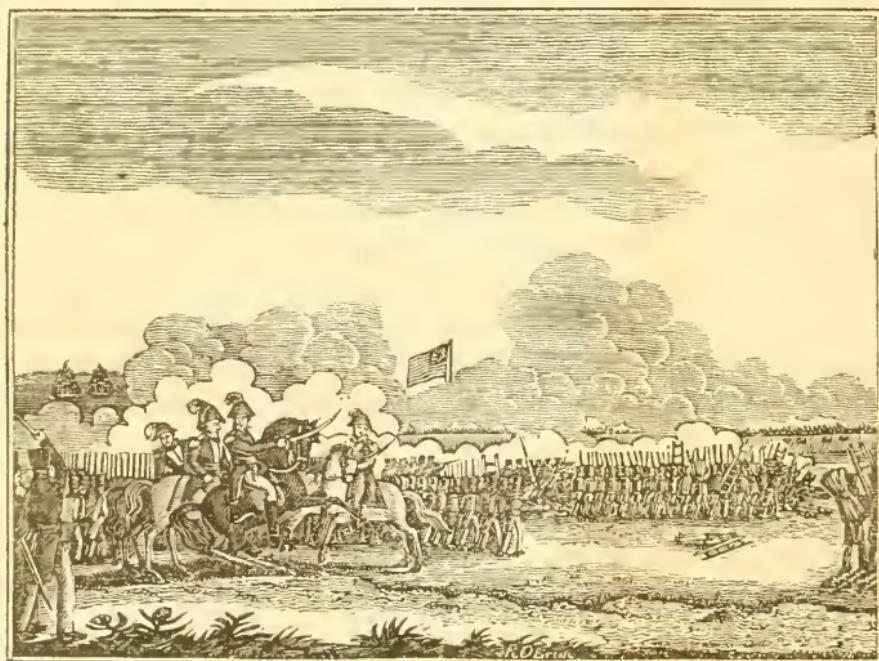
About the 5th of December, certain intelligence was received that the British fleet, consisting of at least sixty sail, was off the coast. Commodore Patterson immediately despatched five gun-boats, under the command of Lieutenant Jones, to watch the motions of the enemy. On the 14th, the gun-boats, while becalmed, were attacked by nearly forty barges and twelve hundred men, and, after a contest of an hour with this overwhelming force, the flotilla surrendered.

By a variety of manœuvres the British continued to advance till they reached the bank of the Mississippi, eight or ten miles below New Orleans. Here General Jackson had constructed his chief defence, consisting of a breast-work extending from the river on his right to a cypress swamp on his left. To hasten the construction of these works, cotton bags were used, as the cheeks of the embrasures. As the enemy was still annoyed by the schooner Caroline, which lay in the Mississippi, they set to work in constructing batteries to attack her, and, on the 27th of December, threw hot shot, by which she was set on fire and blown up, about an hour after she was abandoned by her crew. The Louisiana then took her station. On the 28th, the British advanced up the levee in force, with the intention of driving Jackson from his entrenchments, and,

at the distance of half a mile, commenced an attack with rockets, bombs, and a heavy cannonade, as he approached the American works, which were yet unfinished. The Louisiana, discharging her broadside upon the enemy's column, caused great destruction; the fire from the American batteries was not less destructive; and, after a violent struggle of seven hours, the British retired.

The British force amounted to little short of fifteen thousand of the finest troops; that of the Americans to about six thousand, chiefly raw militia. The British now prepared for a serious attempt on the American works. With great labor, they had completed, by the 7th, a canal from the swamp to the Mississippi, by which they were enabled to transport a number of boats to the river. It was their intention to make a simultaneous attack on the main force of General Jackson on the left bank, and, crossing the river, to attack the batteries on the right. The works of the Americans were by this time completed. The front was a straight line of one thousand yards, defended by upwards of three thousand infantry and artillerists. The ditch contained five feet water, and its front, from having been flooded by opening the levees, and frequent rains, was rendered slippery and muddy. Eight distinct batteries were judiciously disposed, mounting, in all, twelve guns, of different calibre. On the opposite side of the river there was a strong battery of fifteen guns, and the entrenchments were occupied by the Louisiana militia and Kentucky troops. The British commander, having made every preparation for an attack, on the morning of the 8th of January detached Colonel Thornton, with a considerable force, to attack the works on the right bank of the river. He then moved, with his whole force, exceeding twelve thousand men, in two divisions, under Major Generals Gibbs and Keane, and a reserve under General Lambert. The first of these officers was to make the principal attack; the two columns were supplied with scaling ladders and fascines. The British deliberately advanced in solid columns, over an even plain, in front of the American entrenchments; the men carrying, besides

their muskets, fascines, and some of them ladders. A dead silence prevailed until they approached within reach of the batteries, which commenced an incessant and destructive cannonade; they, notwithstanding, continued to advance in tolerable order, closing up their ranks as fast as they were opened by the fire of the Americans. When they came within reach of the musketry and rifles, these joined with the artillery, and produced such dreadful havoc that they were instantly thrown into confusion. Never was there so tremendous a fire as that kept up from the American lines; it was a continued stream; those behind load-



Battle of New Orleans.

ing for the men in front, enabling them to fire with scarcely an intermission. The British columns were literally swept away; hundreds fell at every discharge. The British officers were now making an effort to rally their men, and, in this attempt, their commander, Sir Edward Packenham, was killed.

The two generals, Gibbs and Keane, succeeded in pushing forward their columns a second time; but the second

approach was more fatal than the first; the continued rolling fire of the Americans resembled peals of thunder. It was such as no troops could withstand. The advancing columns broke, and no effort to rally them could avail; a few platoons only advanced to the edge of the ditch, to meet a more certain destruction. An unavailing attempt was made to rally them a third time, by their officers, whose gallantry, on this occasion, deserved a better fate, in a better cause. Generals Gibbs and Keane were carried away, severely wounded, the former mortally. The plain between the front of the British and the American lines was strewed with dead. So dreadful a carnage, considering the length of time and the numbers engaged, was, perhaps, never witnessed. Two thousand, at the lowest estimate, fell by the American shot. The loss of the Americans did not exceed seven killed and six wounded. General Lambert was the only general officer left upon the field; being unable to check the flight of the British columns, he retired to his encampment.

In the mean time, the detachment under Colonel Thornton succeeded in landing on the right bank, and immediately attacked the intrenchment. The American right, believing itself outflanked, abandoned its position, while the left maintained its ground for some time; but, finding itself deserted by those on the right, and being outnumbered by the enemy, they spiked their guns and retired. But the British, seeing the fate of the assault on the left bank, immediately recrossed the river.

During the night of the 8th, the British abandoned their camp and retreated precipitately. From the nature of the country, it was found impossible to pursue them. Their loss in this fatal expedition was immense; besides their generals, and a number of valuable officers, their force was diminished by at least five thousand men. They made all possible haste to their fleet, reëmbarked, and abandoned the country. The glorious defence of New Orleans produced the most lively joy throughout the United States, and was creditable in the highest degree to General Jackson and his brave troops. The courage of the Amer-

ican militia and the skill of their officers have seldom been crowned with such brilliant success.

But the war was now drawing to a close. The pacification of Europe, consequent on the downfall of Napoleon, had removed the main grievances which had led to hostilities—namely, the impressment of seamen and illegal blockades. A negotiation was opened at Ghent, in the Netherlands, toward the end of 1814, between the American commissioners, J. Q. Adams, Bayard, Clay, Russell, and Gallatin, and the British commissioners, Gambier, Goulburn, and Adam. On the 24th of December, 1814, a treaty of peace was signed. It was immediately ratified by the prince regent; and, on the 18th of February, 1815, it was ratified by the senate of the United States. This happy event gave satisfaction to all parties, and was welcomed by expressions of the greatest joy on both sides of the Atlantic. The war had left the United States deeply in debt, and commerce had suffered largely. But the honor of the country had been vindicated, and a national spirit aroused throughout the land. At the close of the contest the United States stood higher than ever in reputation abroad, and took a high rank among the naval powers of the world.



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